

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

MAY 1923



PRICE 20 CENTS

Up With the Radical Press!
The General Strike Call

The New Pioneer

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER is back in the field again. And what is more, this time it is here to stay. The Pioneer needs the co-operation of the workers, and the workers need the Pioneer. It will voice the aspirations of the class-conscious and courageous working class for more of the good things of life, and for final emancipation from the yoke of wage slavery.

The keynote to the policy of The Industrial Pioneer will be solidarity of labor. Capital is strong because it is organized and united; labor is weak because it is unorganized and divided. Labor will remain weak as long as the workers persist in fighting their battles single-handed, or in segregating themselves by crafts. When they learn to band themselves together into industrial unions they will become the greatest and most irresistible power on the face of the earth.

A part of the American working class today mistakenly flatters itself with the possession of economic security. Fellow workers, do not allow yourselves to be lulled to sleep by a mirage. These so-called good times will not last forever. The cycle of capitalist production for some months past has been on the upward swing, but by now it seems to have about reached the apex. As you all know, what goes up has to come down. After depression sets in, the only thing that will help the workers maintain living wages and decent conditions, will be organization on the job.

This then will be the main object of The Industrial Pioneer: to point out to the working class that the road to power is to be found in industrial unionism.

We hereby appeal to our readers and sympathizers to co-operate with us in spreading the gospel of the solidarity of labor.

They can do this by supplying us with timely and original articles about what is taking place in industry and in the labor movement. But the Pioneer will not confine itself to printing only educational and propaganda matter. We believe in variety: in our columns will appear poetry, humor, short stories, sketches and cartoons, by the best working class talent obtainable.

The Industrial Pioneer never did and does not now approve of personalities or futile controversies. The workers cannot afford to squander their energies in calling each other names. People ought not personally be held accountable for the opinions that they hold on various subjects, since these are in the vast majority of cases determined by circumstances beyond their control. We are concerned with issues and principles, not with persons.

While the pages of this magazine will be used primarily to present the industrial union philosophy, we shall at the same time maintain a policy of broadmindedness in our treatment of the labor movement in its various manifestations. Our intention is to reach as many of the workers as possible, irrespective of their industrial or political views or affiliations.

It is the duty of all of us to ourselves and to our fellow workers to do all that lies in our power to make the working class as a whole realize the tremendous power that it possesses if it were but properly educated and organized.

In union there is strength!

JACK GILLIS, General Sec'y-Treas.

HARRY G. CLARK, Chairman G. E. B.



Vol. I.

The
Industrial Pioneer

No. 1

Edited by H. VAN DORN

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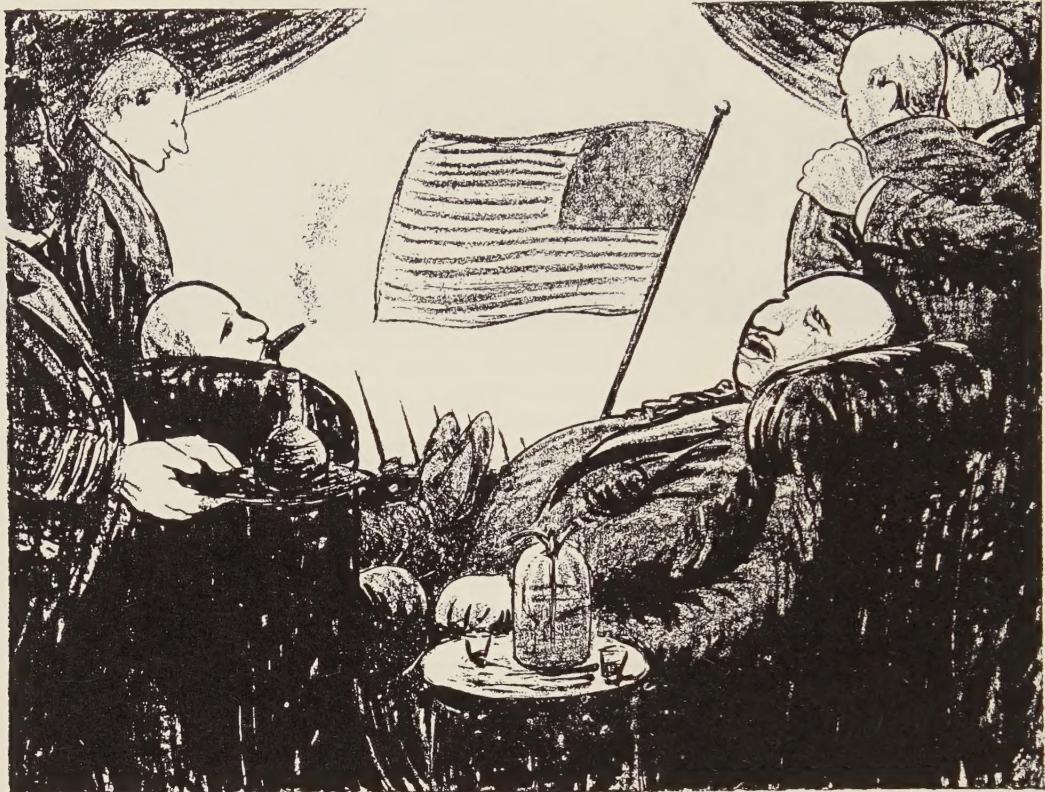
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WHADDAYE MEAN 'OUR BOYS'?
"Our Boys! I tell you what, there's nobody in the world like 'em!"

The Red Flag

By JAMES CONNELL

THE worker's flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft our martyred dead:
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their life-blood dyed its every fold.

CHORUS
Then raise the scarlet standard high;
Beneath its folds we'll live and die,
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

Look 'round, the Frenchman loves its blaze
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung,
Chicago swells its surging song.

It waved above our infant might
When all ahead seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow,
We will not change its color now.

It suits today the meek and base,
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place;
To cringe beneath the rich man's frown,
And haul that sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered, swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeons dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

The Industrial Pioneer

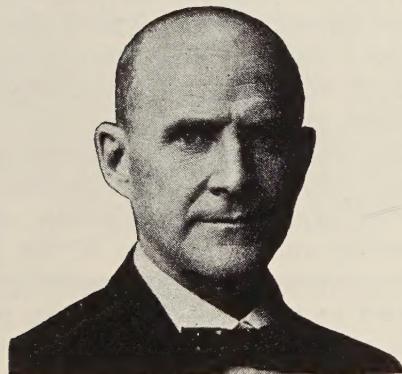
Vol. I.

MAY, 1923

No. 1

Up With the Radical Press!

By EUGENE V. DEBS



EUGENE V. DEBS

DOWN with the radical press" was one of the first slogans of the patrioteers when they precipitated this nation into the international slaughter. They realized the menace of such a press to their nefarious plots and machinations and lost no time nor had any scruples about crushing the papers and magazines of the working class beneath the iron heel of their despotic system.

And so at the most crucial hour in all its history the voice of the working class was strangled while the workers themselves were swept into the red hell which disgraced and damned civilization and all but destroyed the world.

The war is now over. The hysteria has subsided. Sanity again has sway and after coming to realize just what the war has meant to the American people, how they were lied into it, betrayed by it, and must now reap the bitter harvest of their folly, there has been a tremendous change of sentiment toward those who were made to appear traitors by those who actually **were** traitors. Consequently, there is a widespread and rapidly increasing demand that

the American workers be heard in the councils of the nations where plans and proposals are being made for the restoration of peace and the rebuilding of the world.

In this situation nothing is more important than that the radical press should be revived, that the public voice of the workers may again be heard in their own behalf in the tremendous struggle that is shaking the earth, and that is destined to overthrow every despotism and bring freedom to the people and peace to the world.

Without a press the workers are practically beaten in every battle before it begins. They fall an easy pray to the falsehoods and calumnies charged against them by the foul press of their exploiting masters; they have no means of pleading their cause or of placing the issue at stake before the people. As a result they are almost certainly foredoomed to defeat.

Now is the time to revive and rebuild the press of the working class and to make it stronger and more efficient than ever, for it certainly will be put to the severest test as the struggle grows more intense with the passing days.

"Up with the radical press!" should now be the battle-cry of the workers all over the land. Industrial and other organization along the lines of the class struggle is now more than ever the demand, and along with this work and as a necessary part of it, we are bound, as we value our loyalty to the cause, to rebuild our press, restore our papers and magazines, and spread over the entire nation the revolutionary literature to awaken the people, stir them to life and vision, and set their feet in the path to Freedom.

May Day, 1923

FOR many centuries it has been the custom of the Caucasian race to celebrate the coming of spring, when all animal and plant life is liberated from the chilly embrace of winter.

For a long time these celebrations had no other meaning than to express the feelings of joy felt by primitive man at being released from the hardships of winter, which had been imposed upon him by forces beyond his control.

The problem facing him was that of providing tools by the use of which to obtain food, clothing and shelter from the boundless stores of mother nature.

With the advent of the modern era we are confronted by other and entirely different problems.

The development and introduction of machinery has made it easy to supply tools for the extraction of life's necessities from the earth, but the ownership and control of these tools have been allowed to become centered in the hands of a few. Instead of the wonderful inventions by means of which man has conquered nature being a blessing to the whole of humanity, they are used by the capitalist class to exploit and enslave the working class, which constitutes the great majority of the people.

As society developed the old customs of primitive man were gradually supplanted by others more in accord with the spirit of the times.

Instinctively, the industrial worker of the new era has chosen a holiday in spring-time in which to voice his feelings of resentment against the forces which oppress him. Hence May First has fittingly become a day of protest and demonstrations, and sometimes of revolt against the class which exploits and enslaves mankind.

To the American worker the First of May has an additional and more intimate meaning, for it was declared International

Labor Day as a direct result of the struggle of American labor for the eight-hour day in 1886.

In the days of long ago the contest was primarily between man and nature. Nowadays it is a struggle of class against class; of the class which owns everything against the class which produces everything, but in return for its labors is granted only a bare existence.

In the ownership of the means of production is to be found the secret of the power of capitalism. It likewise supplies the key to an explanation of the history of all previous epochs of society. Those who own and control the tools of production in any society own and control that society.

No new class has ever risen to power except through its ability to get control over the economic functions of society. It first has to entrench itself economically. Only after this will it be able to establish the new state in accordance with the changed conditions.

The function of the state is to keep another class in subjection. It can perform no other function and will not be needed in the workers' commonwealth.

The road to power for the workers lies in developing their forces along the lines followed by other classes which have aspired to power.

Not until labor decides to use its economic might will the politicians in Washington liberate the class-war prisoners.

May First, 1923, should be the day when we start in earnest to compel the powers that be to free all those fellow workers who have fought so valiently for the cause of labor. This we can accomplish by using the most effective means at our disposal, namely, by stopping the wheels of production.



The Barbo Fair

By MARY E. MARCY

A TRAVELER once lost his way among the Ragian Hills, and wandered about for many days until he came to a new and beautiful country.

The fields of this country were glad with ripened grain. Fat cattle grazed in the pastures, and flocks of white sheep covered the hills. The winds were filled with the perfume of vineyards, and all the barns seemed bursting with plenty.

The traveller journeyed onward until he came to a village which was called Barbo. And he entered gladly, for he said in his heart: So much wealth was never seen before.

The village consisted of a great square, and four streets leading into it. And the square was filled with booths like the stalls of a market place. Gay ribbons of many colors waved in the breeze.

For it was the day of the Barbo Fair, when the masters brought forth their bags of gold to pay their laborers for the toil of

the four seasons, and the workingmen were given a holiday to make their purchases for the year.

Thus there was but one market day and one day for the payment of wages in Barbo during the whole year, in order that the workers might spend their remaining days in peace and toil.

And the traveller saw that the masters had gathered together in the booths of the square all the goods that the laborers had produced during the year.

Coats and boots were in the first booth, and fine linens and coarse, and silks and jewels, and cloth and garments of every kind, sufficient to clothe the people of two villages like Barbo.

And in the second booth there were bags of white meal and yellow meal, and flour and salt and corn; and there were loaves of bread, and money and cheese and red and golden wine; grain was there also of every kind.

And in the third booth cattle and sheep, rabbits and hogs, and there were also fish and fowl for the feeding of an army.

The fourth booth was filled with fruit. Aloes there were, and bread fruit, and the sweet fig, and bananas, and other fruits in abundance; and spades and hoes and plows for the fields, also.

A crier stood at the gates of the square to make announcement to the people, of new houses to be sold upon the fourth street.

And the coat-maker came with his children, and they were without coats; the hat-maker came without a hat; and the boot-maker and his wife, and his children came with bleeding feet for the way was rough and their feet were bare.

Then came the baker, with his children crying for bread; and the keeper of the vineyard also, and the tillers of the soil, and the garment-maker, in his raiment of rags. The carpenter, who had built the new houses which were to be sold, rose from his bed of straw, and came also.

And all the people gathered together outside the gates of the square to receive their wages for the year. And after they were paid, they went into the Fair, and spent all the gold they had received, and bought many things.

But when they came forth the traveller saw that their faces were sad, and their burdens light; for the prices of those things of which they had need, were greater by three-fold than the wages they had received.

And there yet remained two-thirds of the goods that were gathered together at the Fair.

Then were the masters vexed, for they said: We must pay the banker for the money he has loaned us, and the land-owner his rent, and we must take for ourselves a large profit; therefore is our price just.

But after they had taken away sufficient for their needs, they wondered what should be done with those goods that remained at the Fair. And they refused any longer to hire the laborers, for they said until all those things were sold, there would be no more work for them to do.

Then there arose a disturbance and a panic in the village of Barbo the cause whereof no man knew, until at last there came forth a doctor of law who said it was the curse of the village that God had given the masters more than they could sell.

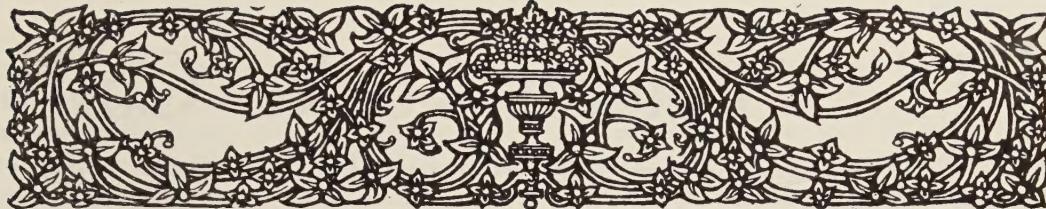
The workers were afraid, for they did not know where to turn when their purchases should be consumed, and they went forth out of the fields weeping and cursing, because there was plenty in the village of Barbo.

The masters cursed also, because, having no place wherein to sell the remainder of their goods, they could make no more profits.

And the traveller journeyed on his way with great speed, for he knew in his heart that he was come to the dwelling place of FOOLS.



MARY E. MARCY



THE CAUSE

By BERT ULLAD

BEHIND the scarlet shadow, behind the ages' blight,
My eyes have caught a vision, a silhouette of night,
And all that stupid cavil, and all that vain discourse,
Can never stem the fury, for I have seen the source.

Let preachers prate about it, they earn their bread
thereby;
Let solons legislate, and let the "moral" hue and cry.
As long as blood brings riches, as long as might
makes right,
The world shall hear the tramping of the Army of
the Night.

As long as Labor's protest is heard and counts for
naught;
As long as legal vultures prey and judges can be
bought,
As long as special privilege can hold the Master's
gold,
The terror of the centuries our children shall be-
hold.

As long as men shall struggle for power over men,
As long as justice crawls to wealth and brands the
false as true,
As long as men shall struggle for power over men,
The scourge shall sweep its madness, in spite of
sword or pen.

As long as blind contentment can dull a Nation's
mind;
As long as men shall bow to laws that fetter them
and bind;
As long as foolish legions go searching for a cross
The earth shall cry for freedom from this destructive
force.

Oh, you who talk of evils, I say, come out with me,
For life is worthy to be seen and there is much
to see;
Behold the children toiling beside the irksome loom
And see the women young, yet old, within the fac-
tory room!

The slaves of mine and sweatshop, the toilers of the
deep,
And all the homeless thousands who beg for food
and sleep.
Come to the great dark prisons, where hope is
misery—
Oh, I shall show you sorrow, if you come out with
me.

Come, see the lofty buildings where girls and
mothers toil,
Where bloated plutocrats take gain as pirates did
their spoil,
And dare to ask a reason why they have sought the
street
When at the close of day they scarce have food
enough to eat.

Come, see the darkened hovels where human
creatures dwell,
The noise and din, the stifling heat—a miniature
of hell;
Come, see the narrow alleys, come, see the crowded
street,
Where human beings cry for life, for life is fair
and sweet.

As long as man shall worship a system red with rust;
As long as man shall fly at wrong and talk and
preach at lust,
As long as want and sorrow shall curse the unborn
child,
The lives of thousands shall be crushed and millions
be defiled.

As long as girls must labor and be denied their
bread;
As long as idle ease shall wait to be bedecked and
fed;
As long as men in bondage shall struggle to be free,
The children of the system must take their bitter fee.

The General Strike Call

By the General Executive Board, I. W. W.

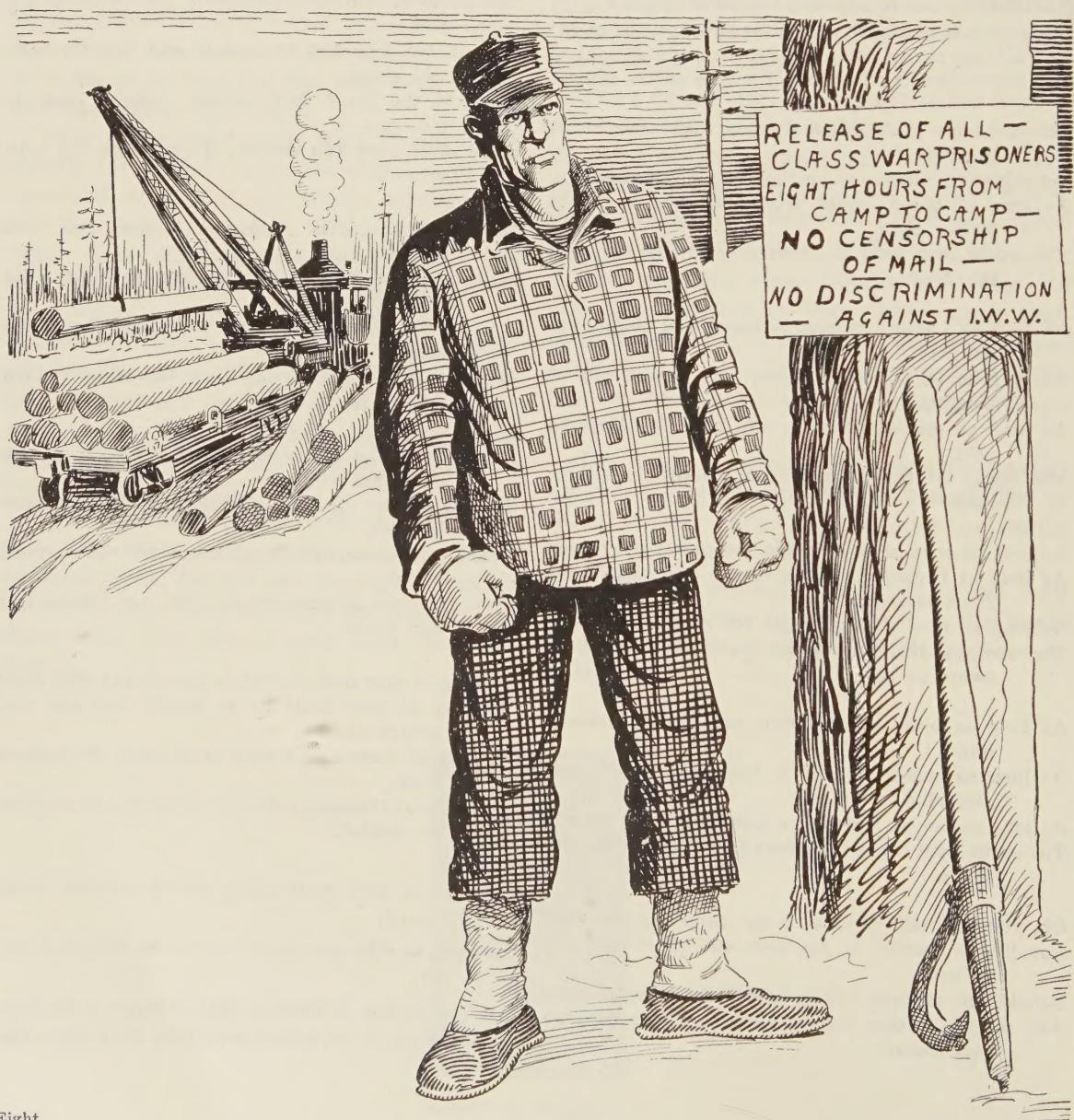
TO THE WORKING CLASS.

Fellow Workers:

A General Strike Committee composed of all the Chairmen and Secretary-Treasurers of the various Industrial Unions, also Secretary-Treasurer of the General De-

fense, located here in Chicago Headquarters, has been formed.

The purpose of this committee is to devise ways and means of propagating the General Strike IDEA, in all industries, and as a means of effecting the release of Class-War Prisoners.



This is in accordance with the ruling of the 14th General Convention, and also in accordance with many demands for such a committee, coming to the Main Office from the rank and file.

There is one point, however, to be emphasized in order to avoid possible mistakes: There is as yet, no General Strike called for all industries, but rather it is the IDEA, that is, and must continue to be put over.

Strikes by the I. W. W. can only be au-

thorized by the rank and file, and not by its officials.

These men must be released, fellow workers, and let us all put our shoulders to the wheel in the one absolutely certain way, viz., by Economic Industrial Action. Let us put this IDEA of a general strike over, till it rings from the lips of workers everywhere, and manifests itself sufficiently in job-action, to open wide the prison doors.

HARRY G. CLARK,
Chairman of the G. E. B.



Marching Song



By BERTON BRALEY

IF you're game to fight with no end in sight and never a band to play,
If you're fit to toil with no hope of spoil and the toiling itself for pay,
If you'll bear the irk of the thankless work of making the dream come true,
If you'll march along through a hooting throng that bellows its oath at you,
If you'll learn to meet each new defeat with the gritty old grin of yore,
And lift your lance in a new advance with hardly a chance to score,
Then you're just the breed that we sorely need; you're one of our kith and kin,
So get the swing of the song we sing and join in the march—fall in!

We promise no loot to the young recruit, no glory or praise or fame,
No gold you gain in this long campaign—but plenty of jeers and blame.
The quarters are mean and the rations lean; the service is harsh and grim,
The war is on from dark to dawn, from dawn to the twilight dim;
But there's ever the cheer of a comrade near, and the touch of his sturdy arm,
And his help in call if you faint and fall where the harrying foemen swarm.
If you scorn reward for the fight that's hard, if you'd rather be right than win,
Just get the swing of the song we sing and join the march—fall in!

If comradeship of heart—not lip—is more to your taste than cash,
If ancient frauds and tinsel gods are idols you long to smash,
If your patience breaks at the honored fakes that the pursy priests have decked,
If you're not content till the veil is rent and the temple of lies is wrecked,
Then your place is made in our stern brigade that never can halt or pause
Till the war is done and the fight is won—the fight for the human cause,
So take your place and our step and pace in spite of the old world's din,
And get the swing of the song we sing and join in the march—fall in!



“Organize the Unorganized!”

By H. VAN DORN

THE outstanding fact in regard to the labor movement in America is, that there is no labor movement in America. A great many faults in our tactics, and misunderstandings of an injurious character, could be avoided if we always to keep this fact in mind.

We would not be far from the mark in saying that in the United States there are about twenty-five million men, women and children working in the various industries. Of these only about three or four million are organized in any kind of labor unions whatever. The bulk of them belong, of course, to the craft unions, which in the majority of cases function merely as job trusts. A few hundreds of thousands belong in other organizations, such as the semi-industrial unions, which possess more of the characteristics of genuine class organizations.

So we see that in the United States at the present time only one out of every six or seven industrial workers belongs to a union. Is anybody foolish enough to imagine that the working class as a whole will be able to get anywhere if this ratio is to be maintained in the future?

The obvious lesson of this deplorable condition is: Organize the Unorganized! This is just what the Industrial Workers of the World has been trying to drive home to the working-class with all the facilities at its command.

Nobody has ever got anywhere by hugging illusions. Neither will the American working-class. Let us first learn the conditions that we are up against, and then let us act accordingly. To put it in the words of Abraham Lincoln, “If we could first know where we are and whither we

are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

Oil and Automobiles

Let us first consider the amount of organization, or lack of it, in the major American industries.

At the top of the list comes the automobile industry. In the year 1922 the value of the total number of automobiles, trucks, and parts and accessories amounted to the stupendous figure of \$2,725,000,000. Hundreds of thousands of workers are employed in this industry. What portion of them is organized?

Everybody who is acquainted with this industry knows that hardly any of them belong even to craft unions. In every automobile factory there are no doubt a few scattering craftsmen, such as carpenters, machinists, and others, who are members of their respective craft unions, but since the great bulk of the employes are not organized, these craftsmen might as well not carry union cards for all the good it does them or anybody else. The industry as a whole is to be put in the category of unorganized industries.

When we consider the second largest industry in the United States—the production and refining of oil—we will find the same open shop conditions prevailing there. Here again we will find a few mechanics carrying craft union cards, but by reason of the workers not being organized, their power is negligible. In the oil fields, especially of the southwestern states and California, the Industrial Workers of the World have started a vigorous campaign of organization, but as yet it is in its initial stages. It is highly encouraging to note that the Oil Workers' Industrial Union gives signs of vigorous growth.

In the huge oil refineries in various states, controlled and operated as a rule by the Standard Oil companies, only some of the more highly skilled mechanics, such as first-class machinists, boiler makers, engineers, carry craft cards. In regard to the conditions, hours, and wages of the many thousands of other workers, the Standard

Oil is the court of final appeal, and the supreme ruler. Of course, the chances are that the same would hold true even if all these workers carried membership cards in craft unions.

Textiles, Steel, Wood and Rubber

Textiles form the third largest industry. Here, also, there is no organization to speak of, until we come to the tailoring trades. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, representing the workers engaged in the manufacture of men's and boys' clothing, have a membership of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand. In other branches of the tailoring trades we find several tens of thousands more, organized in craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Besides this there is a scattering of independent unions in the various woolen, cotton and silk mills in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the New England states, whose total membership numerically is negligible.

By far the greater number of workers in all the textile mills, and also those workers engaged in the raising of cotton in the southern states, are without any form of organization. Especially down south the conditions in the textile industry are unspeakably bad. Thousands upon thousands of children of tender age are employed in the fields, the sheds, and the mills, at a wage barely sufficient to feed them, to say nothing of clothing them and providing any of the other things necessary to sustain life. Women in the southern cotton mills work ten and eleven hours a day for as little as eight or nine dollars a week.

Everybody knows that there is no organization of the workers in the steel industry, nor in the woodworking and rubber industries. Owing to the failure of the great steel strike of 1919, neither is there a chance to ever organize the steel workers into craft unions modeled after, or affiliated with, the American Federation of Labor.

Transportation and Food

Of course, the railroads are supposed to be almost one hundred per cent organized. However, the brand of unionism that pre-

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vails there has been demonstrated time and again through the failures of the various railroad workers' strikes. The most flagrant example of this is to be found in the recent collapse and routing of the shop men.

When we come to transportation by water the present prospects are more encouraging. After the final defeat of the longshoremen's and the seamen's craft unions, through numerous unsuccessful strikes, the marine transport workers seem to have seen a light, and are at present joining the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World in great numbers. But it will take time, grit, and a great deal of hard work to build up an organization here that will be powerful enough to make the masters come to terms.

The fiasco of the packing house strikes is well known to everybody who has kept in touch with labor history in recent years. Needless to say, the packing house workers are at present without any form of organization. This applies also to almost as great an extent to the foodstuff workers in the restaurants, bakeries, hotels, and other places where food is handled.

We thus see that the major industries in the United States, with the possible exception of one or two, can be looked upon as being altogether unorganized. Can anybody be foolish enough to believe that labor will be able to secure any measure of power while this condition prevails?

The Craft Unions

The strength of the craft unions is to be found in the building, construction, printing, coal mining, and railroad industries. Neither the building nor the printing industries are organized over fifty per cent, nor can they be counted among the pivotal or major industries.

The coal miners are organized in most states, but their brand of organization and leadership has been amply illustrated by the failure of the recent coal miners' strike.

It is a notorious fact, well known to all students of recent labor history, that during the last six or seven years practically

every strike engaged in by the various craft unions has been lost. That such has been the case is not an accident. To expect any other result in the unequal struggle between labor divided, and capital united, would be expecting the impossible.

The Strength of Capital

Why has it been impossible for craft unions to flourish in the automobile or the textile, the steel or the packing industries? For the simple reason that these industries are operated and controlled by big business; they are in the hands of gigantic combines of capital wielding tremendous power.

In order to organize the steel mills the workers have to buck the colossal power and highly efficient mechanism of the steel trust.

In order to organize the oil industry the workers have to prove themselves not only equal, but superior to the machine built up and kept in smooth working order by the most powerful organization in the world to-day,—the Standard Oil.

In order to obtain a foothold and to spread organization in the woolen, cotton and silk mills, the textile workers have to be able to outmaneuver and out-fight the textile trust. The same applies, only in a lesser degree, to the other industries.

The Weakness of Labor

This, then, is the problem that confronts us. If any body of men think that they can revolutionize and amalgamate the now existing conservative craft unions, why, let them go to it! We have good reasons for thinking that this cannot be accomplished, but, for the sake of the argument, let us admit that it could. After they have amalgamated to show existing craft unions, what will they have?

Why, they will have nothing to speak of; nothing that will be able to effect any appreciable change in the destinies of the working class. The workers in the major industries will still be unorganized. The power of resistance to the colossal combines of capital will still be almost as small as it is to-day.

We thus see that altho the amalgamation of the craft unions might be a laudable object, surely it is nothing to get excited over; and this altogether aside from the question as to whether or not the amalgamation can be consummated.

"Organize the Unorganized!"

The United States is the ideal example of an industrial country. The whole country, its industries, and everything else in it, is run, managed, and owned by a handful of big financiers and captains of industry. They are the possessors of all power because they are possessors of economic power.

The only way the working class can even make an attempt to oppose the will of the capitalist class is by acquiring at least a

semblance of economic power through organization at the point of production. This is the big task that confronts us.

When we set to work organizing the now unorganized industries we will find that we may have to change our tactics in accordance with the different conditions that prevail in the various industries. We will have to use the tools best suited to turn out the work. But surely labor ought to be able to rise to the necessities of the occasion.

No task should prove to be impossible of accomplishment by those who keep the whole world agoing. Let all of us therefore put our shoulders to the wheel! From now on, let our slogan be "Organize the Unorganized!"



The Struggle for Bread

By MARTIN J. CONNOLY

FIERCE and more fierce grows the battle of life
Women and children take part in the strife.
A horrible struggle—a struggle for bread,
That each day does number some one hundred dead.
Oh, fearful the slaughter! Factories run gore;
For every one killed there are wounded a score.
Awful the struggle, and to the last breath
They struggle for life. They get only death!

See the great army spread over the land:
Three million children—a pitiful band,
Pale little toddlers of most tender age
(The blackest spot on all history's page!)
Millions of children are toiling for bread—
Robbed of their childhood, all hope from them fled.
O God! they toil on, bereft of all joy,
While millions of MEN are seeking employ!

Of women, six millions in the strife,
Becoming unfitted for station as wife.
Their wage is so meager, their bodies they sell,
This to 'scape hunger. They'd rather chance hell
When by so doing they can get their bread.
(Oh, better, far better, for them were they dead!)
Some six hundred thousand in this land today
Their bodies sell daily on the great white way!

Shame on that nation that murders its young—
And this for profit! The tears that are wrung
From these tender children make dividends swell—
The rich golden stream that will float us to hell!
Distilled is the blood of these women to gold—
Body and soul to the devil they're sold—
To the devil are sold to make dividends swell—
That rich golden stream that will float us to hell!





STEEL WORKERS

In the Grip of a Dead Hand

By VERN SMITH

HERE is a steel mill.

Who are they that shiver in front of the entrance gates so early in the morning?

Why, they are workingmen, going to work or else looking for jobs,—the sons of toil who make everything that is made on the earth, and who represent the Dignity of Labor.

The dignity is not apparent in their faces, to be sure, because those of them who have jobs are afraid the others will get them, and the others are afraid they will not get them.

The walls of the building are black and dusty, for it does not pay to clean them; the boss does not live here. The air is cold and damp. The looks that the workingmen bestow upon each other are chilly and furtive; they are eloquent of suspicion, wretchedness, a gnawing at the heart, a sinking at the stomach, a feeling of vague and dumb terror.

A whistle's peremptory scream, and the doors are flung wide open—some go in to serve the rumbling machines, and some go up to face a grumbling master.

The machine must be tended, the master must be placated.

Over it all hangs a mantle of fear; it is a fear that poisons the bread the men eat, and the air they breathe. It does not leave them for a moment the whole night long. It imparts a double meaning to every word they hear, it is nearer to them than their very thoughts. Nearer than their thoughts, because it is the form of their thoughts, the mould in which the raw material of information is cast.

* * *

Why this fear, dread, apprehension of impending danger?

Why the subdued lights in this picture of lusty workingmen—so superbly endowed with the full dignity of labor?

Because all their lives long these men have been thinking, as did their fathers before them, that they are but puny struggling creatures in a world of gigantic forces; that they can get no food, no clothing, no shelter, except through the gracious benevolence of the exalted power which owns the mill, and gives them money in return for services rendered.

The preservation of their families, their hope of happiness, their very lives, depend on placating this

power,—so they think. They crawl to it as basely as ever savage crawled to his blood-smeared idol to pay homage. They think they must do this, for does not the corporation, the capitalist, possess a power greater than that wielded by the deity? The deity gave life unasked. The capitalist not only gives it but can also take it away, or at least the fulness of it, if it pleases him to do so. The workingmen fear him, for he holds the threads of their fate in his hands, and, like Caliban dreaming himself Setebos, this one he kills, and to that one he grants a morsel of bread, if the man begs for it.

* * *

The army of humanity marches on, out from the grim caverns of the unknown past into the misty land of an obscure future. And on its way from a darkness to a darkness, it passes through smoke and dust and noise, through factories, mines and farm lands; it travels over endless stretches of land, and over the face of great lakes and the limitless expanse of the oceans.

Every child born into the world finds awaiting him certain institutions which form the structure of the society in which he has to live—his place of earthly abode, so to speak. As far as he knows by direct evidence, and not by hearsay, these institutions are as much a part of nature as the sun and the moon.

That is not all. The child passes through other sorts of factories,—thought or “mind-fixing” factories. There are newspapers, moving pictures and games which artfully engage his time and attention; there are churches which he **should** go to on Sunday, and there are schools which he **must** attend. All these are as little his as the factories he is thrown among, yes, **into**, at a too early age. They are outside of his personality and beyond his control, but they supply the moulds into which his whole being is cast. As far as the child knows, these institutions likewise are as much a part of nature as the Steel Mills.

* * *

Accepting then, these things,—the factory and the thought factory—will not this child and these children accept also the product that pours from them?

The product of the factory is the commodity, the fruit of a commodity-built society; the product of the school and of the newspaper is a mental thing—certain traditions, chief of which is the sacredness of private property, and the right of every owner to “do what he wants with his own.”

The commodity is older than the factory, in form and in use. The factory today produces shovels and rakes cheaper and better, and of a more uniform standard grade, than was done in the past.

The tradition is older than the newspaper, but it is brought up to date, standardized, and cheapened, as well as made more abundant, by the thought factory.

For in the final analysis, the substance of men's thoughts is determined by what reaches their minds

from the outside. When every craftsman had his own tools, every iron worker his own forge and bellows and hammers, it was observed,—and observed correctly,—that men did not like to work all day long and have some other man take away the products of their toil. It was decided, and correctly, that if the smith made shovels and rakes, they should be his, unless he were paid for them what he thought they were worth. There you have the origin of the idea that private property is sacred, and of the right to “do what he wishes with his own.”

In their time and place these ideas were good. The blacksmith should own the product of his own forge, when he operates it himself, for it is to the social advantage that he be secure in the possession of the fruits of his labor applied to the forge.

But what about the steel mills? Do the cringing, worried, whitefaced men and boys work in them? They certainly do. Do they get the value of their product? They certainly do not.

The owner still applies his traditional right, “to the full product of the forges,” although the owner—the corporation,—is a thing without hands or feet, incapable of working a single machine, of stoking a single furnace. (Needless to say, the stockholders are too busy attending church in Los Angeles, or booze parties in Bermuda, to lend a hand.)

The tradition, the fruit of practical experience, the thought-out result of observation (of long ago) is still with us, though the facts which were observed have ceased to be.

Now, why does not a new concept take the place of the old, lying, outworn tradition?

Since the day when the capitalist masters found the factory rule sliding into their hands, they have labored incessantly to keep the fact of their rule concealed from all and sundry. They are worshipped and dreaded not as human beings but as representatives of a tradition, as priests of the mysterious force, known as “**OWNERSHIP**,” “**PRIVATE PROPERTY**,” which is a mere notion, a vacuous idea.

The wage slave is a spiritualist, kneeling in abasement before a ghost, a disembodied spook of a former social morality.

The Dead Hand of the past has him by the throat; the flail that beats out his manhood is made of bones that once were a saint's, perhaps, but are now but a dug-up pestilence which ought to be buried so that it would torment man no more.

* * *

So here is the situation, and the cause of the fear. The factory with its capitalist, who must be feared, because the thought factory, with its tradition of private property, permits no idea of his removal.

Your factory sometimes produces a bit of work that is not at all what was intended. As it grows older, it must continually produce more and more work that is defective from the point of view of the capitalist.

The thought factory does the same.

The new circumstances will, sooner or later, force a few men to base their ideas upon present-day facts, even though the men themselves may have gone through the "mind-fixing" mills owned and operated by the capitalists. The artificial information, the pretended facts, which the thought factory supplies, will be rejected by these few, and their minds will not be moulded by the fear that distorts everything into grotesque and untruthful shapes.

If a man moves alone to menace capitalism, the police and the juries, its attendant vultures, will tear out his liver.

But the Industrial Workers of the World call on working men to rise up from their faces, to come out of the mists of a rotting past, to cast off its ghostly restraints. No more reverence for outworn beliefs, no more cringing before millionaires, no more fleeing from mirages. Capitalism and its pack-sack of animated corpses, its gibbets and jails and judges and preachers, its rubbish of ancient morality, and its dungeon filth, will no more restrain the might of labor in mass than the mists of night will stand against the noon-day sun.

Go East, Young Man, and Grow Up With Big Industry!

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

THE advice of Horace Greeley, "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country," will now stand a reversal, if it has not already been reversed for some time past.

With the disappearance of the frontier, the westward march has ended. As a result, we see this westward migration recoiling on itself. We see the young men and young women of the west and midwest going east "to make their fortunes" and to grow up with giant industrialism there. The movement to drive the farmers off the farms into the big cities will give eastward tendencies still greater impetus in the near future.

It is well to call attention to these new tendencies in order that the friends of industrial unionism may appreciate their full significance and act accordingly. There is a superstition afloat to the effect that the West is the embodiment of everything progressive and ideal in industrial tendency. The fact of the matter is that, in the development of the continent from coast to coast the East long ago passed the stage now characteristic of the West. Chicago, for instance, now wants a subway, in emulation of the progressiveness of New York City. In other words, the West, instead of being in the forefront of industrial development, lags somewhat behind it.

Big Industry in the East

Behold the East! The home of Wall Street and the trusts! The land of big industrialism par excellence! Try your industrial union teeth on that; and, if you can bite into that granite—to adapt to domestic conditions a metaphorical phrase now current in Germany—you can bite into any of the problems of giant capitalism. And if you cannot, the sooner you get a new set of teeth—which means, a more effective method of putting theoretical industrial unionism into operation—the better.

Look at New England, with its giant woolen trust and its cotton mill corporations! Or take the textile industry as a whole—the silk industry, for instance, in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania—there's a field that industrial unionism must subdue, if it would win. Or look at the giant electrical manufacturing development of the East. The General Electric Company, let us say, with its chain of plants at Lynn, Mass., Schenectady, N. Y.; Harrison, N. J.; Erie, Pa.; Fort Wayne, Ind. Or consider the Westinghouse plants at Pittsburgh, Pa.; Cleveland, O., and other points. And don't overlook the Western Electric Co., of New York City and Chicago. Here are corporations literally employing industrial armies—tens of thousands of employees, mostly unorganized or disorganized.

It is no different with the auto industry. Consider Henry Ford alone. Here's a vast, international corporation, radiating from Detroit, Michigan, outward to many cities and lands. How about conquering it for industrial unionism? And then there's the Studebaker, and other auto corporations to be considered in addition.

There is more in the giant industrialism of the East than is dreamed of in the industrial union philosophy of the West.

Take the State of Pennsylvania, as an example. There's the home of the steel trust, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Jones and Laughlin Co., and other colossal steel corporations and coal companies. Let us quote some facts and figures from the May, 1919, issue of "The National Geographic Magazine," as reprinted in **Industrial Solidarity of March 10, 1923.** This magazine contained an article entitled:

"The Industrial Titan of America. Pennsylvania, Once the Keystone of the Original Thirteen, Now the Keystone of Forty-Eight Sovereign States."

The article says: "Measured in terms of our own country, Pennsylvania has many surprises for the investigator of its position in the Union. One might add the populations of four far-western states to that of all New England and still have fewer people than dwell in the land of William Penn. **Draw a line from the Canadian border to the Rio Grande on the meridian that separates the Dakotas and Nebraska from Montana and Wyoming, and all of the people who live between that line and on the shores of the Pacific would barely suffice to equal Penn-land's population.**"

"This includes eleven states.

"The article also says: 'The manufacturing industry of the State is an epic of human energy. What bit of fiction could thrill more than the facts showing how one-twelfth of the people of the United States, the busiest nation on the face of the earth, can succeed in producing one-eighth of the Republic's manufactures and more than one-fourth of its minerals. Or what story could appeal more than the one which tells how a district constituting only

one-half of one per cent of the Earth's people produces one-sixth of the world's pig iron and the same proportion of its coal!'

"There is more eulogy of a similar kind. The reader learns, 'Yet, with all of this concentration, Pennsylvania has a greater diversity of industries than any other State, leading both New York and Illinois in that particular.' The 'heavy manufactures' abound in Pennsylvania, viz., steel and iron. In addition, The State makes nearly half of the country's cotton lace, more than a third of its carpets and rugs, more than a third of its chocolate and cocoa, nearly half of its felt hats, and more than a third of its silk. It produces more asbestos manufactures than all the rest of the country, and more bluing, ice cream, hammocks, and leather than any other State represented on our starry flag.' Tobacco and cement also figure in Pennsylvania's industries.

"The reader learns further that the 'true value of all the property in the Commonwealth amounts to more than 15 billion dollars . . . this is four billion dollars more than the aggregate wealth of all New England and only 5 billions less than the national wealth of Italy.'

"Some state! The sender of the article to Industrial Solidarity says: 'Do you want workers in the industries to organize? Come here; the state is full of both. Most of the workers are unorganized. Here's your chance.'

"It sure is."

Industrial Unionism in the East

Such is the problem of industrial union organization in the East. How can it be met? Very easily. Merely by extending all the present industrial union activities eastward. For instance, New York State has a big agricultural and canning section in Monroe county, or in and about Rochester. Why not transfer some of the activities of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union there; and in that way add to and promote I. W. W. agitation in New York State?

By the way, new fields for western mi-

gratory workers will become inevitable within a few more years. With the farmers being driven from the farms, the labor of migratory workers on the farms of the West will be useless. In other words, the migratory worker will be displaced and rendered more idle than at present. Farming will be industrialized, with fewer hands needed.

But to resume the argument on ways and means of shifting the base of I. W. W. activities eastward. Take Maine, New York, Minnesota and Wisconsin: They have big lumber interests operated by big capital and employing hundreds of lumber workers. How about transferring some of the activities of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W., to these states, thereby strengthening the other I. W. W. propaganda in them?

The same thing can be said of general construction. New York is building canals and aqueducts that require labor organization. It presents a big field for Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, just as the aforementioned enterprises provide a

big field for the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310.

The point is this, that, with I. W. W. activities extended to the eastern states, I. W. W. prospects and strength will increase there. A case in point is the presence of the Marine Transport Workers' branch at Philadelphia. This served as a base that enabled the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, No. 440, to organize the recent revolt in Schwab's steel hells at Bethlehem, Pa. This should be duplicated everywhere in the East by the extension of all I. W. W. activities eastward.

In the future, let us add to the old Wobbly harvest song, "We are coming home, John Farmer; we are coming back to stay," this song, "We are coming home, Plutocracy; we are coming home to stay; to organize the big industries and break your iron sway."

And let it be soon. For without a triumph in big industry, such as the East presents, we, the workers, to use the vernacular, can get nowhere. Big industry is the nut to crack. Let us crack it!



STEEL WORKERS—BETHLEHEM, PA.



When the Master's Pocketbook Is Hit

An Interview With Harry Feinberg, Secretary of the General Defense Committee.

MANY people are sorely puzzled as to the real reasons why the I. W. W. war-opinion prisoners are still incarcerated. There are still others who do not know just what is back of the present vicious persecutions in California. With the object of getting to the bottom of this thing, we interviewed Harry Feinberg, Secretary of the General Defense Committee.

How much longer will these men, whose only crime has been love of humanity and commendable persistence in adhering to their honest opinions, have to remain in prison? So we asked Feinberg this question:

"What are the latest developments in the cases of the I. W. W. class-war prisoners in Leavenworth?"

"There are no late developments," said Feinberg. "So far as anybody knows, the status of the prisoners is the same today as it was months ago. There have been rumors but they have remained rumors. Although hundreds of thousands of people all over the country have appealed for the release of these men, the administration remains adamant."

"The action of the Harding Administration has been a sad blow to all who believe in fair play. Multitudes of men and women prominent in all walks of life, senators, representatives, bishops, priests, professors, judges, municipal officials, social workers and others have appealed for amnesty, but, —no result. There has never been another case to parallel this in the entire history of the United States."

President Breaks His Promise

"Take, for instance, the mammoth petition that was presented to the President on July 19, 1922. It comprised over 300,000 signatures. Practically every church and liberal organization, to say nothing of labor organizations, joined in the appeal for amnesty. The President promised to review all the cases inside of sixty days. Nothing was done at the expiration of that time, so we gave him 30 days' grace, in view of his being swamped with work at the time.

"Was anything done after the 90 days? Not a thing. So we started another intensive amnesty campaign. During the drive Senator William E. Borah spoke to large audiences in practically all the big cities in the country, urging the release of the wartime prisoners. Numerous publications came out editorially in favor of amnesty. Senator George Wharton Pepper reviewed the Chicago I. W. W. trial, and having found that there was no earthly ground on which the men could be justly retained behind prison bars, recommended to the President their immediate and unconditional release; still no results. Only a few weeks ago 51 bishops signed a letter asking amnesty. In Cleveland 500 delegates to the Methodist Episcopal Church Council of Cities passed a resolution asking the release of the prisoners. All this has failed to move the administration at Washington.

"True, a few have been released and deported. Also a few have been released on individual clem-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

ency applications. This, however, does not affect the cases of those still behind prison walls, as they are American born citizens, and have never committed any actual crime, so have no grounds on which to apply for clemency."

"In view of all this that you have just told me, what will be your next move? If appeals to executive clemency have failed, surely the General Defense Committee must be contemplating action along other lines."

Economic Pressure Is Next Step

"We are now resorting to economic pressure," answered the defense secretary. "The sentiment among the rank and file of the Industrial Workers of the World at the present time is for a general strike. Hit the master class in the pocketbook and maybe it will wake up.

"There is more activity among the I. W. W. membership on the Pacific Coast today than ever before. They want action, and they want it quick. They have become impatient of dilly-dallying with an administration whose actions are evidently determined by unseen forces.

"Two circuit courts of appeals threw out the two counts against the prisoners charging sabotage and property destruction. Yet the administration, contrary to all legal precedent, ignores the appeals courts' action. So what can we do? Economic action on as large a scale as possible is now the only means to effect the release of these innocent men. The general strike will do it."

"Will you mention some of the more prominent organizations and individuals who have been active in the amnesty campaign?" was our next question.

"Well, besides the ones whom I have already mentioned, there is Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor under Taft, and an ex-cabinet minister who served under McKinley and Roosevelt, whose name I am not going to mention, has contributed money. Besides, just recently the Wisconsin Senate passed a resolution urging the release of the war-opinion prisoners."

"What particular group of capitalists, in your opinion, is especially active in keeping the men behind bars?"

"I could not say what special interests are responsible for the outrage. All that I know is that the capitalist class in general is to be blamed for keeping these innocent men in prison. Of course, their flunkies and cohorts, such as the American Legion and other reactionary and lawless elements, are always on the job."

"Is it not a fact that war-opinion prisoners have been released in every country on the face of the earth? How do these other countries look upon this survival of vicious persecution in the United States?"

All Other Nations Have Given Amnesty

"I am glad you asked me that," answered Feinberg. "Yes, all other nations have freed their war-opinion prisoners and the United States is fast losing

whatever reputation it had in other countries for being the home of the brave and the land of the free.

"Also, it has been hit in the pocketbook through the actions of the workers in other parts of the world, particularly in South and Central America. In Argentina, the largest labor unions have officially protested against the continued imprisonment of the politicals here. And the Argentine Syndicalist Union has announced that it will protest all ships from the United States, asking Yankee passengers why this nation does not let the European war come to an end.

"Thousands of workingmen and women in Mexico are participating in a boycott against all moving picture films made in the States. This news is spreading swiftly throughout the South American countries, where the workers are expected to do likewise.

"Many labor organizations and liberty-loving individuals in Europe have sent appeals for the politicals to the nearest U. S. consul or direct to President Harding."

California Shows Its Fangs

Next we wanted to know about the persecutions going on in California. Whence comes this terrible outburst of viciousness against the working class in that paradise of the United States? We were informed that some 48 members of the I. W. W. are incarcerated in San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries, serving sentences ranging from one to 28 years. In the case of most prisoners starting out on an indeterminate sentence, a flat sentence is given to them after one year, but with the I. W. W.s, it is sometimes two or more years before they learn the exact length of their incarceration. Besides these 48, there are about 20 out on bail today awaiting the results of appeal, and on top of these, somewhere around 50 who are still waiting trial. Most of these latter, however, are in on vagrancy charges.

"On what grounds have most of these workingmen been convicted?" we asked.

"Of membership in the I. W. W., under the criminal syndicalism law. No overt acts of violence, sabotage, or destruction of property have been proved against any of them. Yet there they are, behind penitentiary walls for the 'crime' of belonging to a labor union."

"How about the three professional witnesses used by the state,—Dymond, Coutts and Townsend? Are they as bad as they have been painted by the papers?"

This touched a sore spot in the defense secretary's makeup. "Bad! Why, bad is no name for it! They are degenerates of an unspeakable type. Each of them ought to be given at least a hundred years in the penitentiary and barred forever from associating with human beings. Yet here are the facts: These proven and self-confessed sexual degenerates and criminals are being employed by the State of California to uphold the sanctity of its laws. Has ever

anything more offensive to all sense of decency and fair play been pulled off anywhere on the face of the earth?"

Terrorism in San Francisco

"What is back of the raid on the California defense office in San Francisco and the arrest of its secretary, Tom Connors?"

"Intimidation and lawlessness, pure and simple. Connors was doing a lot of good work for the defense, so he had to be put out of the way. He had created a lot of sentiment for the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law. His activities were getting results. He was arousing a sense of justice in the citizens and taxpayers of California, so naturally a man like that could not be tolerated by the corrupt powers that rule that state."

"He was arrested on a warrant sworn out by the authorities of Sacramento County, for tampering with a jury, simply because one of the defense circulars reprinting an editorial from the Fresno Daily Republican had accidentally fallen into the hands of a juror in a syndicalism trial in Sacramento. Newspapers which are vehemently opposed to the I. W. W. reach jurors right along. Why are the owners of these newspapers not thrown into prison?"

"How will the utter disregard for law, order, precedent and justice by the California courts react upon the rest of the country?"

"It merely emphasizes what class-conscious workers have known for years; that there is one law for the workingmen and another for the employers. The courts are seen to be nothing but instruments in the hands of the industrial overlords. Another result has been that in California itself the entire fabric of criminal procedure has collapsed. For years past the American people have been told to have respect for the courts, but the actions of the courts themselves have been such as to inspire nothing but disrespect from all justice-loving people."

"How about these professional witnesses? Do you think that other states may follow California's example in employing self-confessed criminals and moral degenerates as state witnesses?"

"No, I do not. California uses them because it can get away with it. It was done in the Mooney case and other cases, and it is being done today. You must remember that California has been so long controlled by unscrupulous public utility corporations and railroads that they have lost all sense of political decency. It is doubtful that, if the things done in California were attempted in other states, the reactionaries could get away with them."

I. W. W. Used as Smoke-Screen

"What connection do you see between the present persecution of the I. W. W. and the control of California's politics by the ring mentioned above?"

"Well, it seems to me that the I. W. W. is being used by these selfish interests merely as a smoke-screen to divert the attention of the well-meaning

Californians from the machinations of this ring of high-handed politicians. It is also highly probable that it is but a repetition of what is taking place in regard to the Leavenworth prisoners. They are being used as a smoke-screen by the grafting contractors who defrauded the people of the United States out of millions of dollars during the war. What more natural than this? Do not many burglars, when they contemplate pulling off an especially big job, start a fire in the neighborhood, so as to throw off the attention of the people from what they intend to do?"

"What particular interests, in your opinion, are back of the prosecution?"

"That is a hard question to answer. There is little doubt, however, that the lumber and railroad interests are backing it, and also possibly the Southern California Edison Company. And many raids on the Marine Transport Workers in San Francisco were made at the direct request of Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union."

The ferocity with which the Los Angeles prosecutions have been waged can be laid directly at the door of Thomas Lee Woolwine, district attorney of Los Angeles county, who attempts to shield his own ill-doing by attacking others whom he thinks too weak to resist effectively; in Sacramento, they are partly due to the insane hatred which McClatchey, owner of the Sacramento Bee, bears to all liberal-minded people, I. W. W.s or no; and since the Southern California Edison Company is now employing F. W. Kelly, who represented the Department of Justice in the I. W. W. war trial at Sacramento, its participation in the prosecution of I. W. W.s is not difficult to explain. The American Legion, too, not only upholds the California syndicalism law, but at this time is sending emissaries into Oregon in an effort to induce the legislature of that state to rewrite its syndicalism law to conform to the California statute."

Struggle in California Must Go On

There was still another point on which we wanted to be straightened out, which had been raised by some well-meaning people who have the interests of labor close at heart.

"Why not abandon the struggle in California for the time being and concentrate on organization work somewhere else? How would the membership of the I. W. W. look at any such proposal? Or is it at all possible or practical, in the first place?"

"This is not possible, practical, nor advisable. It is impractical for the simple reason that the members of the Industrial Workers of the World do not carry on the struggle out of visionary or idealistic motives, but because they work in the State of California. They are there, and they are attempting to organize on the job in order to get as many benefits from the employers as possible. Another thing, if we were to give up the struggle, or make an attempt to do so, we thereby would practically admit our guilt."

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"Big business is strongly entrenched in California, and there is nothing for labor to do but fight it out. If we give up the struggle in California, what guarantee is there that the same tactics will not be used against us in other states? The way things stand now, the fight there is beginning to assume large proportions.

"Not only the I. W. W., but many of the big A. F. of L. unions, and a great number of taxpayers

and fair-minded people in general, are on our side. Public sentiment is beginning to crystallize in our favor, and a reaction is bound to set in. Besides, the boycott in foreign countries against California-made moving pictures is also bound to have its effect.

The Industrial Workers of the World are there to stay, and they are going to win out, even if they have to move heaven and earth to do so."

H. Van Dorn.



Tightline Johnson and Efficiency

By WILLIAM AKERS

NORMALCY and me came to some hard blows during the late onslaught. It was mostly a running fight. The strategy used in various attempts to sling a double roll onto a sizeable meal ticket should have won an honorable mention. This line of tactics, however, is still listed under the head of "Unremunerative Pursuits" by the income tax collectors.

After a mosquito season up in the New Porcupine galena prospect holes of the Hudson Bay country I followed the geese down and drew up in Cleveland, Ohio, just at the time that President Harding took his nineteenth vacation in a new golfing suit.

Cleveland is not exactly a logging center nor a place for prospectors to hang out in. But, thinks I, "Tightline Johnson, as a genuine American of Scotch-Irish-Norwegian extraction, should see America first," so I ambled up Euclid Avenue from the well known Cuyahoga River with both eyes peeled.

At Ninth street I stood watching ten policemen guarantee the safe passage of a limousine straight ahead with no turns, when who should walk up on one end of a two-bit cigar but my old Tilicum on a British Columbia construction job.

"Tightline Johnson! You Damned Old Bum, You! How in hell did you come to blow in this burg? How are the wobs? When did you leave the North Pole?"

These and similar sentiments enlivened the air and amused the populace.

It was Ed Rumbo, the Polish kid that I had fished out of a rock fall in a tunnel up on the Grand Trunk Pacific ten years ago. He was a bright lad and had taken in all the language I poured out about social progress and labor organization in them by-gone days. But he had a peculiar slant even then. Maybe it was because he had gone to a technical school and was always doping out some engineering feature or other. Anyway, the rotten conditions and the petty meannesses of the boss never seemed to get his goat in a personal way. He got excited about all this stuff because it was "inefficient." We used to call him "Efficiency Ed."

I remember when I fished him out from under the punky caps and posts that had been responsible for the cave-in. He said, "Christ! Sticking in those rotten timbers is a hell of a poor policy. It don't pay. It ain't efficient!" And him alive only because of a hundred to one chance!

It ain't no exaggeration to say that I was glad to see this lad. Bein' out in that northern brush country all summer and not havin' kept in touch with things in general, I was somewhat concerned

as to prospects for interior decoration during the coming winter.

"Ed," says I, "I'm still poor but honest. Likewise, that is the same condition the wobs is in. Yet it sticks in my mind that through the operation of the union and some displays of solidarity a lot of us are a damn sight richer than we were during them notable days up in B. C. on the Canadian Northern.

"Maybe we haven't exactly become bloated aristocrats like you yourself now, but our habits is changin' right along. For instance, it is becomin' stylish with a lot of us birds to take to T-bone steaks instead of the regulation choice between pig knuckles, liver and onions, or cremated spuds, all vulcanized with grease from the same cook shack can.

"The old rations of coffee that would float a horseshoe, and doughnuts that would sink a mudscow, is passé these days. We wobs are striving after the higher life.

"We have took a lot of our burdens to the boss these last long years, Sonny, and let him carry 'em. For instance, the well known crumb hatcheries of olden days are not so numerous on the skidroad around Seattle. Maybe some other places have not yet abolished the balloons, but they were on their way when I last heard from civilization."

"Come on along," says Ed, with the same old grin that had decorated his face when I used to get eloquent on the grub subject years before. "I am running a little building job here in Cleveland just at present and have to get back on the works. Come on over to the shanty for awhile and we'll see if we can't dope out something of immediate value to your future."

We hikes up the street and turns into an alley leading up to one of the biggest building jobs I ever seen. In the office shack Ed and me goes into the little private room with a name on the door "Mr. Rumbo." My old friend Ed was the superintendent on the job.

We loaded up the old corncobs and chatters away most of an hour. It was the first time that I ever talked that long to a superintendent without him havin' some murderous designs on my life or liberty. Ed's viewpoint was this:

"The worst trouble with the capitalist system is that it don't give a guy a chance to find proper expression for his instincts, even though he wants to be a good willing slave and knuckle up to a job. When you boil all of your propaganda down to a

nutshell your demands seem to me to be for a greater share in life as it can be lived, of course keeping a weather eye open for the day when the whole works can be reorganized on a more efficient basis.

"Your way," continued Ed, "may be the only right way. It may be that when I take a job like this, and because of my ability to handle the engineering features of this job in a way that no one else can do, that I am retarding your work. But I don't think so. Here is my system: I have discovered by actual experience that the best way to handle men is to co-operate with them instead of try to drive them. Especially on these big building jobs is this true. It don't count much to be able to drive a crew of men here. What counts is to have each section and unit of the job work together with the other units. Job co-ordination will get more speed and efficiency on this job than any other factor.

"A lazy guy like yourself, Tightline, may be more valuable as an employe than two goofs that are scared to death of the boss and hop around brainlessly trying to bull everything through. The guy that takes it easy and schemes out a dozen ways to make the machinery do the work for him is twice as efficient as the lickspittle type of plug who goes off his nut if the boss pokes his head around the corner.

"Because I learned a lot about human nature and class consciousness I can get results with less friction than most of the superintendents on such jobs. But, Tightline, I am of the opinion that over and above the class consciousness of labor there is something else just as big and more stable, and that is the human instincts. Capitalist management don't consider the human instincts, and that is why it is largely inefficient."

This ain't exactly the way he put it up, but it's the way I remember it. I naturally tore into these remarks. I agreed with most of his stuff, but I took it up where he left off.

"One of the instincts of this human animal," says I, "is hunger. When a plug gets hungry he wants to eat, and if he isn't being fed because of the operation of another human instinct, greed, which is one of the main endowments of the capitalist make-up, why, then right there is where two instincts are workin' in opposite directions, and human nature ain't goin' to agree with itself. In other words, the old class struggle may have a basis in our human instincts, but it is based on the economic conditions of the present system.

"Ed," I continued, "the only way to arrange for a normal and sensible expression of the instincts is to fix things in this world so that we can all have a go at expression. Maybe you can fix up a job so that it is better arranged for the men and they have a better chance on it than on others, but you says a minute ago that you were the only one.

"I pat myself on the back at this modest admission of yours. My hairy chest sticks out so far that if I had any vest on it would be buttonless from now on. For you must not forget that your early training at my hands had a lot to do with your ideas.

"It is tough on the world that for the last ten years you have been out of reach of superior educators like myself. Think what you might have made of such opportunities, my boy, if I had only been at your elbow.

"But I have to agree with you in one thing. Every reform that the boss installs against his will seems to be profitable for him. When they put blankets in the camps on the coast they proceeded to get more service out of the men during the first few days of labor. A man that has carried a load that a jackass would refuse, hoofing it all day up to one of those camps, is in no mood to go out and knock down a forest with his mighty muscles next morning.

"Clean sheets and spring beds revive a tired worker, and the boss gets the benefit. Now suppose that we encouraged the lumber barons to install neat little cottages in these camps, and even went so far with our natural urges as to get married to some misguided young female with long blond hair or bobbed brunette locks, the boss would commence to make a profit from this arrangement right away!

"The boss has the human instinct of greed, plus obedience to habits. Even though it would pay him better to see that every instinct of the workers on the job was given a chance to express itself in a normal and helpful way, he is so damned reactionary that he wouldn't do it.

"For instance, high wages may knock a hole in the pockets of some of your contractors. But the boys that get the high wages and the bigger return can build a home of their own, and so the contractor gets more work in the long run. So it goes all the way through. Every time we take a crack at the boss for more pork chops and other things he sneaks around and gets some benefit out of it. But the way to get these benefits for ourselves is by the route of the class struggle, and not by turning into a cigar puffin' superintendent.

"Furthermore," says I, "I am impatient of having a flock of plugs on hand to keep sneakin' around appropriatin' the benefit from every improvement that I force them to make in my own conditions. Do you think that it is a law of the universe that I have to go out and fight for my own interests with a lowbred class of Babbitts, and worse, every time I want to improve my own conditions? Do you think that this same document provides that every time I give the boss a wallop and make him come across with some things for my benefit, that it should only make him better off in the long run?

"Exploitation is the natural born child of capitalism. To get rid of one, the other has to go."



Forcing the Farmers Off the Farms

By JUSTUS EBERT

YEARS ago we used to hear a great deal about the American farmer. He was the basis of democracy, the backbone of the country. Unlike the peasant of Europe, he had no overlord, but was free and independent. Owning and operating his own small freehold he was the great individualist and conservative, a strong bulwark against socialism or any other theory of collective ownership of land and industry. He was the upstanding refutation of the latter and its eternal repudiation.

Today we still hear a great deal about John Farmer. But it is no longer eulogistic. In fact, his friends of yore are now "bawling" him out. They talk about sacrificing him and his farming to big industry and big centralized cities. They also say that he is about twenty-five per cent too numerous. And they no longer consider his small occupancy of the land a permanent feature, but an undesirable one that should be ended. As for his sterling individualism and staunch conservatism, with their deadly enmity to socialism—well, that's overlooked. He's doomed; that's all.

It is an interesting, nay, a stupendous revolution that has taken place in the attitude towards farmers and farming. Its profundity will only be realized in years to come. But some of its deep significance and far-reaching consequences can be glimpsed even now.

England's Choice

The first peep was given by Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, in a recent address to the Chicago Credit Men's Association. Discussing whether this country is to be an essentially agricultural or industrial nation, Wallace referred to England and the crisis industrial development forced on it about two hundred years ago. "In that crisis," said Wallace, "England decided to sacrifice agriculture to industry and history has proved the wisdom of the choice."

Here we have the first intimation of a program of agricultural sacrifice. Its practical application has elicited the following comment, as it were, from Julius H. Barnes, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce:

"If the purpose of the government and bankers is to reduce the farmer to the level of the old world peasants, with a hut to live in and just enough

food to keep him alive, then I'll say we are on the right road."

While this is biting, it is not accurate criticism. The aim is not one of reduction, but of destruction. Not an alteration in, but an extermination of, the farmer's status. It is not a question of increasing tenantry or peonage, but of driving the farmer into the factory, there to compete with the industrial worker of the city. That was England's achievement in the great industrial revolution of two hundred years ago. It looks as if it would be the U. S. achievement in the greater industrial revolution now confronting it and the world. Even now, it is claimed by no less an authority than Barnes himself that the automobile, motion picture, electrical and chemical industries "are maintained by the release of workers from agricultural and other pursuits."

Depopulation of Farms

The trend from the farm to the city has been much discussed before this. But never has it appeared as the result of a deliberate policy. And never has it been combated as such, as is now the case.

Farm population steadily tends to decrease, despite increases in other directions. During our last twenty-year period the number of farms has increased twelve per cent, acreage of improved land, twenty-one per cent, and yield of staple crops from thirty-six to sixty-seven per cent. Yet during the last ten years, from 1910 to 1920, the number of agricultural workers decreased 1,700,000, or fourteen per cent. This, it is claimed, is due to the increased use of machinery and implements, valued at fifty per cent, for the same period.

According to statistics, the farming population grows even more disproportionate to the rest of the population. That is, the farmers are being dwarfed into a relatively minor position in American life. They are no longer the preponderating element.

From 1890 to 1910 the farm population of the United States dropped from fifty-six to forty-five per cent of the total. In 1920 it had shrunk to forty per cent and is still shrinking. It is further estimated that the income of the farm population is only about seventeen per cent of the total instead of forty per cent as formerly. There are more

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workers in factories than on farms today, with a relatively larger income.

This steady decline in farm percentages is held by some of the former friends of the farmer to be beneficial. Among these are the Hearst papers. These former valiant organs of middle class interests, that used to "roast" the "plunder bund," in the interests of the farmer, are now actively trying to make it appear that the farm policies of the "bund" are for the benefit of all. George Hinman, Hearst writer on financial and economic topics, decries the campaign against big centralized cities which has grown out of the farm depopulation movement. Curiously enough, he, too, like Wallace, cites England, saying:

"An English economist writes that without her larger cities and industries Great Britain could support only 15,000,000 population instead of 45,000,000 as now. In other words, 30,000,000 would have to move out."

Hinman concludes, "The progress of today is industrial progress. . . . The big cities and their industries have got to grow if the nation grows. Otherwise we stand still."

The Blessings of Imperialistic Capitalism

Of course, there's another side to this question. They hold up England, too; but as a terrible warning. There's our eloquent and poetic friend, Covington Hall! He cried out against following the "wisdom" of England! He says it's folly and worse than criminal! Referring to the results of this policy he declares: "Two-thirds of the British people live on or below the line of poverty. . . . It was to hold her monopoly of machines and trade that England strained every nerve to become 'mistress of the sea' and to hold 'dominion over palm and pine.' . . . This is why England has warred with the United States, France and Germany so ruthlessly—to save her monopoly of the trade of the world. . . . Hitch our 110,000,000 people to labor-saving machines, turn the flood-tide of their products into the markets of the world, and in less than a twelve-month, the factories of the United States will begin to shut down and the cry of 'over-production' will be heard from every office in the land."

There we have it—greater industrial slums and hells of poverty, aggressive imperialism, war and "over-production" leading to tremendous panics and unemployed crises,—such is the "wisdom" of England that the United States has set out to follow, under the policy of its industrial-financial overlords. In fact, this policy is already well under way. It is more than historic analogy or prophesy; it is a contemporaneous fact.

What are we going to do about it?

Covington Hall would call a halt to this policy. He sees an American imperialism and militarism rampant, as there is an English one, "unless the farmers and workers cease their foolish factional struggles, unite, and resist with all the power at

their command the purpose of the International Usurers and Junkers."

Since that was written the Farmers' National Council was warned March, 1923, against "a scheme to discourage farming in the United States and reduce land produce to home requirements." The council further states that "AN INCREASING NUMBER OF FARMERS, POSSIBLY A MILLION AND A HALF, WILL BE FORCED OFF THE FARMS WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR." This is confirmed by a student of conditions in the South. He contends that the trend there is to compel the big insurance companies to reorganize cotton cultivation on a corporation basis, in order to protect their mortgage investments. This will mean the death of both tenantry and peonage, wherever introduced. Over seven hundred thousand farmers have already left the farms of the Southland. With the new organization of cotton growing under way, this number will greatly increase, possibly double or treble.

Farm production and marketing tend further to become more stabilized under the auspices of co-operatives, which are dominated by wealthy farmers and bankers in agricultural centers. They make farm investments more attractive, and have already had such success as to enlist big capital and to secure the benefits of federal farm credits, to the detriment of the small farmer.

Educate the Farmers

Evidently, the tendency to farm depopulation has only begun. Further, judging from the inherent conditions tending to bring it about, it is irresistible. The farmer will increasingly be forced off the farm into the city. He will increasingly cease to be the bulwark of capitalism against socialism. What we should do is to point out to him his inevitable fate and prepare him for his destiny as a wage slave; lest embittered by his loss of status as a small property-owner, he become embittered against the organized labor movement and turns against it, to the further degradation of all concerned. This has already occurred in Detroit's building industries; for instance, where ex-farmers, fed on capitalist propaganda that "the exactions of labor unions tend to ruin the farmers," have become scabs because of the anti-labor unionism thus instilled.

This should be our cue: Make the inevitable clear to the farmer, before, and not after the fact, and he will likely be your friend when it occurs. He will respect both your foresight and your interest.

As for the rest of the problem, let capitalism take care of that. Increasing poverty, imperialism, war, over-production,—such as Hall predicts, apparently are unavoidable, and will shake the present system to its very foundations and lead to its final overthrow. Amid such conditions, industrial unionism, with its program of social reconstruction and vision of the workers' commonwealth, will be the best way out.

WOBBLES

A correspondent sends in the following query:

"If a man gets up some morning and puts on his trousers with the seat in front and buttons them up behind, draws on his socks wrong side out, puts the right shoe on his left foot and the left on his right, and fastens his necktie on behind and lets it trail down his back, what would you say was the matter with him?"

Answer: We would say he was qualifying for membership in the Four L's.

* * *

The following "gem of purest ray serene" is taken from a K. K. K. sheet. The exalted klukking kleagles are this time clamoring for the scalp of our liberal-minded friend Charles Edward Russell. It sure am a humdinger:

"And by the God of the Hebrew prophets we red-blooded, white one-hundred per cent Americans swear that while the earth revolves on its axis England shall have no part in directing our affairs, and when your sort of caviling, interloping yaps come around dictating how we shall act toward Italian dago, red Russian bolshevik, yaller-bellied Chinaman or murderous Turk, we will beat old Harry out of you, give you a good coat of tar and feathers and then kick you out of this country. If you don't believe it just come to Louisiana and repeat the things which are in this insulting article of yours, and see what happens."

Ain't these the berries, though? The self-proclaimed defenders of democracy and the sanctity of womanhood are all there when it comes to changing lofty sentiments into direct action,—you betcha life!

* * *

"Oh, Henry," said Mrs. Chatterton, "what do you think? Little Richard is beginning to talk."

"Good luck to him," said her husband. "It's more than I've been able to do in this house. How did he ever get the chance?"

Here's the best one we have heard in many a long day: The other day we attended a mass meeting of steel workers. An "international officer" of a dinky little craft union having a membership of a few thousand out of the half million or so unorganized steel workers, was on the platform, and was waxing hot about the dangers of "dual unionism." "Why don't them I. W. W.s leave the steel workers alone and go into some industry that ain't organized!" Can you beat it!

* * *

This talk about the working class being at the foot of the social ladder reminds us of Dan, the school boy.

"If it wasn't for me," said Dan, proudly, "my class wouldn't have any standing at all."

"But I thought you were at the foot of the class," said his mother.

"Well, so I am," admitted Dan, "but how could it stand if it didn't have a foot?"

* * *

A lot of the workingmen we know are "on their way," but haven't the least idea where they are headed for. They are like the Scotsman who, after a merry evening, said to his friend:

"Do ye ken where Andy Graham lives the noo?"

"Whist!" said his friend, "ye're Andy Graham yersel'!"

"I'm no' askin' ye if ye ken Andy Graham," was the reply; "I'm askin' if ye ken whaur he lives."

* * *

Political orator—"Gentlemen," said he, "my opponent suggests that such things are mere pinpricks. But I can assure him that this pinprick is the last straw which breaks the camel's back. If it is not uprooted while still in the cradle, its venomous tongue will permeate the very pillars of democracy, and ring up the curtain on the deluge which will consume us all!"



The Real Workers' International

By E. W. LATCHEM

ONE of the most important problems confronting the International Working Class today is the solidification of their forces industrially and internationally in order to enable them to successfully combat the forces of International Capitalism.

It is fifty-nine years since the first attempt was made to weld the militant forces of labor into an international fighting force, and to establish greater solidarity between the workers of the different countries in their struggles against the common enemy—Capitalism.

The First International and the Workers' Economic Interests

This organization was named the International Association of Workingmen, and later came to be known as the First International. It adopted the following statutes:

"That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself;

"That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination;

"That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, i. e., of the sources of life, is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim which every political movement must be subordinated to;

"That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries;

"That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem but a problem of a social character embracing every civilized country, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries;

"That the actual simultaneous revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, on the one hand, awakens new hopes, while, on the other hand, it is a solemn warning of the danger of relapse into the old errors and an appeal for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement."

Solidarity Vital

It is to be noted that although the above program is incomplete, it is extremely clear on certain points, namely: That all working class political movements

must be subordinated to the great aim of obtaining the economic emancipation of the working class, and that this can only be done by getting solidarity in the ranks of the workers in various branches of industry in all countries.

Necessarily, this implies that the economic factor is the predominating factor, and that therefore revolutionary economic organization of the working class is the key to the solution of working class problems. Any organization which does not organize in accord with the above theories cannot truly claim to be continuing the great work started by the First International.

The Second International and German Economic Interests

In regard to the Second International, it is only necessary to state that history has proved that the finely worded phraseology and resolutions emanating from it were but camouflage for a nationalistic political movement, whose controlling element, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, went over to the German Imperialists as soon as the first real test came at the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

In reality the leaders of the German Social Democracy represented the economic needs and interests of the German Bourgeoisie; they succeeded so well in camouflaging themselves that they were able to impose their narrow, nationalistic conceptions on the international labor movement to such an extent that today we have thousands of sincere workers who think that they are internationalists, when in reality they are only camouflaged nationalists.

The Third International and Russian Economic Interests

A close study of the Third International and its offspring, the Red International of Labor Unions, will disclose the fact that nearly all their programs and policies are the reflex of Russian economic needs and interests in the same manner that the German Social Democracy was the reflex of certain German economic needs and interests.

One of the outstanding features of all literature and propaganda issued by the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions is that most of their reasoning and contentions center around the idea of a revolution in all countries, which is to happen in the same manner and go through the same processes as the Russian revolution.

Those in control are in such close and sympathetic touch with present day Russia and her problems that they reflect her needs and desires and have deluded themselves into thinking that they are voicing the interests of the international proletariat.

As yet Russia has no industrial proletariat corresponding to the proletariat of other countries which are more highly developed industrially, and until Russia has adjusted herself economically she cannot have a Russian proletarian interest that is identical to that of the International proletarian economic interest.

We can understand and sympathize with Russia, but we, as proletarian workers, cannot allow our sympathies to override our judgment. We cannot swallow Russian nationalistic policies and call them international policies just to prove our friendship for the Russian revolution.

It is only natural that the hard and intense struggle of Russia to adjust herself economically should cause even the most advanced Russians to lose sight of all else for the time being. In acting thus they are only proving themselves human.

Exponents of the Third International make much of the fact that it was "established in March, 1919, in the Capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic." It might be well to recall that the Social Democratic Party of Germany was also begotten during a time of great stress, and that the poison which later killed the Second International was injected at that time.

Predominating Influences

In considering international labor problems we need to remember that the actions of the labor movements in all countries are largely, if not altogether, influenced by their own peculiar problems, and that each country is inclined to consider its own problems as the most important.

Any international body, to be truly international, will necessarily have to subordinate all national economic interests to that of the International Proletarian interest.

We should also remember that international activity of the working class is not at all dependent upon, nor a result of, the formation of an international body.

The formation of an international body does not produce international activity but it does provide an organized expression for that activity.

Necessary Steps

The first step to be taken by an International, or any other body which happens to be really sincere in wanting to carry out the work attempted in 1864 by the International Association of Workingmen, is to start in removing from the labor movements of all countries all obstacles which stand in the way of getting "solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries." This cannot be done successfully by any sectarian group which excludes workers because they fail to endorse certain phraseology that pertains to the immediate struggles of some particular country.

To use the words of Frederick Engels, the First International "trusted entirely to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion."

When the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions made admission dependent upon endorsement of phrases which have come to the front as a result of the Russian Revolution, they ignored the policies laid down by Marx and others, whom they pretend to follow, and became but a sectarian group of "phrase-mongers." Marx, himself, always pointed out the need and necessity of combined action and mutual discussion, and the danger of becoming transformed into a sectarian group.

His policy was to find points of agreement and get the workers together and then, if as a result of their combined activity and mutual discussion the workers decided to adopt other policies, well and good.

The Communist Manifesto makes that point extremely clear to all those whose minds are free from nationalistic or other prejudices.

The Future Industrial Workers of the World

We of the I. W. W. are looking forward to the time when the workers of other countries are ready to seriously undertake to put into practice the principles enunciated by the First International. Then and not till then, will we have an International that can truly be called THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.



The Railroad Container

By A CIVIL ENGINEER

AS a rule socialization follows in the wake of technical progress. When we pass from the handsaw to the sawmill, we become socialized because it takes a social group instead of an individual to operate the new tool, the sawmill.

Machinization of life through the industrial process opens up the era of the big shop.

Every one of 13 groups into which the Census Bureau divides the industries of the country increased in capital and in horse-power used in factories between 1914 and 1919, but 7 groups lost in numbers of establishments.

In 13 major groups of industries, the following changes in number of establishments took place in the 5-year period from 1914 to 1919:

Net Increases

FOOD, 1,995 plants, 3.4 per cent.

TEXTILES, 5,089 plants, 21.6 per cent.

IRON and STEEL, 2,401 plants, 11.3 per cent.

OTHER METALS, 644 plants, 6.5 per cent.

RAILROAD REPAIR SHOPS, 357 plants, 17.5 per cent.

MISCELLANEOUS, 3,056 plants, 16.3 per cent.

Net Decreases

WOOD MANUFACTURERS, 2,081 plants, 4 per cent.

LEATHER and SHOES, 361 plants, 5.3 per cent.

PAPER and PRINTING, 793 plants, 12.1 per cent.

CHEMICALS, 150 plants, 1.2 per cent.

CLAY, STONE, GLASS, 2,218 plants, 15 per cent.

TOBACCO, 3,660 plants, 26 per cent.

AUTOS and all VEHICLES, 991 plants, 15 per cent.

(Excluding auto repair plants, which average 5 men each.)

If the increase in small automobile repair-shops is omitted from consideration, the number of factories in the United States showed an increase of only 232—less than one-tenth of 1 per cent—in a five-year period which put an army of 2,017,000 additional workers into American shops, increased the energy of their engines, motors and waterwheels by 7,000,000 horse-power, and vastly swelled their capital. It is the Era of the Big Shop.

No one is more hopelessly blind than the man who refuses to see, and there are still a lot of people who imagine that such a distinctly pronounced economic tendency will have no bearing upon their puny little individuality.

A few years ago, there existed in New York a magazine called The Unpopular Review and it certainly deserved its name. It made a specialty of boosting so-called individual opportunities in the face of the economic concentration which follows

technical progress, as surely as night follows day, and many a poor devil with a middle class mind lost what few cents he had in trying to domesticate for his personal advantage a technical process that was in its essence social.

Just now, some electric interests are engaged into a campaign to rob the little country boy of his swimming hole in order to provide "juice" for the farms. Commercially it is just a scheme to sell small dynamos and many will "fall" for the glib talk of the salesmen who ought to realize that they can never produce their own juice cheaper than the large concern can sell it to them.

The individualism which the American derives from his pioneering ancestors becomes, after the public domain is gone or gobbled up by the capitalists, a silly superstition which causes many a hardworking but ignorant person to drop what little he has scraped together after many untold privations.

As soon as a technical progress is registered beyond the purely experimental stage, it is always used to hamstring a few would-be capitalists. It is practically useless to remind those people that every step forward in the technique of industry means more wage-workers and less tool-owners.

When there is on the surface a slight possibility of backing up such a notion with scientific considerations, the economically ignorant rush up to be plundered with all the speed at their command.

The advent of the motor truck is a case in point. There was a machinized tool, a comprehensive technical improvement, and still one man could drive it, keep it up and—notice the easy economic mistake—own it. So, salesmen went around the country who had not only trucks for sale but hauling contracts as well. All one had to do was to buy a truck, paying down what he had and giving notes for the balance, and he could get a long time contract from some industrial concern. On the face of it, it was a golden opportunity but, in reality, it was not as good as it looked. The best those people could do, after all their expenses were paid, was to realize that they were only wageworkers in disguise. Most of them learned by experience that in the wake of all key industries there exist a lot of minor, secondary enterprises which the owners of large concerns are quite willing to leave to individuals because they know that, at their best, those minor industries can only assume a subordinate life and are at all times depending for their very existence upon the tolerance of the large corporations. The latter know their exact profits and, as soon as their earnings rise above a certain figure, absorption by the parent concern follows.

In the meanwhile the little fellows are doing at their own expense a lot of experimenting that is especially useful in the long run to the big concern.

In the specific case of the motor truck, most of the economic nonsense about the false possibilities of hauling by truck came from the little fellow who had purchased trucks on the installment plan and imagined that they were going to give the railroad companies the run of their lives.

As a matter of fact, the truck lines never made very serious inroads upon the revenues of the rail carriers. As soon as the truck lines became important enough to become dangerous competitors, the railroads saw to it that they were placed under the regulative power of the state railroad commissions.

The individualistic illusion of the small truck owner caused him to bear the whole burden of a competition which, he now understands, could lead nowhere.

Now peace has been restored in the transportation world. Good roads have been built, the motor truck is not able to compete with the steam trunk lines, but is going to be used to a larger extent on the branch lines. Such is the understanding which has been brought about between the two types of land carriers, and the first result of which is going to be the ownership of the trucks operating on feeder or branch roads, from the main line, by the railway companies themselves.

This understanding is the product of a technical invention, the railroad container.

A railroad container is a locked steel box which fits inside the stake pockets of a flat car and the standard size of which is the same as that of a box-car in height, with a length of 8 feet. On the upper part is a strong eyebolt ready to receive the hook of a crane.

It does not look like very much of an invention but the reader will probably change his mind if he follows me in the study of its possibilities.

Let us say that A is a wholesaler in Chicago. The railroad company delivers to his backdoor all the containers he wishes. They come on an automobile truck and are lifted off by an electric crane. A has received an order from a customer B who lives in C. He opens a container, throws the order into it and locks the door. If A is a big firm and has his own spur or side-track, he leaves the container on his rear loading platform and, during the night, a flat car comes along, puts the container alongside of another one and moves off. If A is a small firm, the railroad company will collect the container with a motor truck, take it to the yard and load it with a crane on a flat. The flat moves off on the main line till it reaches the proper junction. Here a motor truck comes along and several containers are loaded on it. The truck moves off along a branch line and deposits the containers at the very door of B, the local merchant in the town of C.

Now let us notice the economic consequences of this simple invention.

First, from the point of view of the common carrier. Do you, reader, realize that most of the cities are hemmed in and restricted in their development and traffic by the necessity for the railroads to locate in- and outbound freight houses as near as possible to the center of business? Some of the most valuable real estate is tied up on that account.

The door of the container faces the long side of the flat car. Place a board or a steel plate between the container and the stakes and thefts and robberies in transit become practically impossible. No more losses to the railroad on that account and, besides, the use of the container means more flats and less boxes, which represents quite a difference in the cost of buying and maintaining the equipment.

So far we have looked at this thing from the point of view of the employer, but what of the man at the other end who gets his goods delivered at his door without paying to send a team or a truck for them? The item of trucking is by no means to be overlooked. It is still in the chaotic stage. It is also very expensive, specially if we compare it with the cost of long distance hauling.

Petaluma, the greatest chicken and egg producing center in the world, is nearly a hundred miles away from San Francisco by rail, but it costs more to haul a load of eggs from the freight house to the commission merchant's than it costs to bring the same eggs from Petaluma, and I have no doubts that the same conditions are duplicated in other lines in most of our large commercial centers.

And now from the point of view of the worker. The new invention is sure going to treat him rough. Here is a list of some of the employees whose job the railroad container causes partly or entirely to disappear.

Goods carried in containers must not be packed, nor boxed, nor crated, which means a reduction of at least fifty per cent in the number of order pickers, checkers, packers and laborers at both ends of the haul. It means also a smaller demand for box and crate lumber and paper cartons. It cuts out two-thirds of the freight house employees, truckers, deliverymen, clerks, checkers, callers, etc. It decreases the amount of work to be performed by the car-whackers and builders of freight cars, with only the compensation of a little more work in the plants where containers and pressed steel cars will be manufactured.

For so simple an invention, it surely threatens to make a lot of victims.

Should the workers oppose the introduction of the container? This would be ridiculous if it were not impossible. Under a sane social system, the workers in the railroad transportation industry would hail the container with joy. It would give them a better chance to read, to get acquainted with their families and to improve their minds, or even to become more proficient at their favorite pastimes.

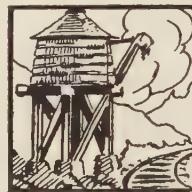
But as conditions are today, the container is going to make a lot more tramps, for the workers are not ready to handle the new invention. Were their organizations effected, they could derive some profit, some gain, from a labor-saving device like the container. Under present conditions, however, the container is going to bring greater dividends to railroad stockholders and keener competition for their jobs to many railroaders who will be lucky enough not to be laid off when forces are cut.

You see, the rail bosses and their stockholders have an efficient organization. It is based upon the nature of the industry and binds them together for profitable action. But the workers in that industry —what contrast! The man with the brass buttons and the stripes on the sleeves of his Prince Albert

coat, who looks like a Swiss admiral, has nothing but contempt for the “dead heads” of the lower ratings. Most of the railroaders make it a point to cringe before the man higher up, and to lord it over the “poor stiff” below them. That is the spirit of craft unionism, fighting each other, hating each other, misunderstanding each others’ motives, and failing to realize that all are parts of one single process that ceases to function as soon as one of its cogs ceases to work.

And when a new invention like the container comes along they are unable, in their divided condition, to exert that economic resistance for control and protection which unity and the power of a social purpose alone can give them.

Will they ever learn?



Hail Solidarity!

By COVINGTON HALL

O MAGIC word of Labor! O sesame of Toil!
By which our class shall conquer the workshop
and the soil!
At what a cost we learn it, in treasure and in strife,
The clearest law of nature, the plainest rule of life.

How blind has been the folly that has kept our class
apart,
That's made us slay each other in body, mind and
heart;
How long has been the struggle; the road, how red
and steep;
What shambles we have suffered that others Earth
might keep.

How long our souls have shaken before the Traders'
gods,
How tamely we have taken their gibbeting and
rods;
How oft we've crowned the traitor, our true ones
we have slain;
How dumbly done when bidden the awful work of
Cain.

Heartbrokenly I witness the record of our class,
Our vanguards ever falling the victims of the mass;
Our skrinking from the future, our worship of the
past,
The ages upon ages our fears have held us fast.

But, hark! the tone is changing! The Unions move
as one!
The long retreat is ended! The forward march
begun!
The Class! The Class is waking! Around the cen-
sored Earth
Come crystal thought-waves telling of Golden Age's
birth!

O magic word of Labor! O sesame of Toil!
By which our class shall conquer the workshop and
the soil!
O word that sums our longing, our purpose and our
might
To build up from this ruin a world based on the
right,

Hail!
Hail! word of hope and power, of all good things
to be,—
Of love, life, truth, freedom, hail! Hail Solidarity!

MAY, 1923



ONLOOKER TO STRIKER—BY ALL MEANS DO NOT USE FORCE.



EUROPE, 1923

An Analysis of Graft

By HUBERT LANGEROCK

THE word "graft" is one of the most used in the dictionary of the American language. Like that of all words in frequent use, its meaning seems to be somewhat hazy. Workers may be heard talking about their work as "hard graft," while a fellow worker is said to be making an easy living through a "soft graft." It is evident that, in such cases, the word is merely synonymous of work or labor and no derogatory meaning is conveyed by its use. Such a use is, of course, unwarranted for there is a general consensus of opinion that by the word graft is meant some form of corrupt gain.

A new and greater difficulty arises when an attempt is made to give a correct definition of the word graft. Like most colloquial forms of speech, the word seems to baffle any attempt to establish its correct meaning.

Even law courts called upon to fix the exact meaning of the word, as the basis for the criminal intention involved in libel suits, do not seem to have been able to fix a definite meaning to the term.

A radical daily, in a city of the Middle West, was sentenced for libel because it had talked about a certain act of a city clerk as graft. That particular clerk had incurred certain additional expenses for extra clerk hire without legal authority. The court held that, since he had not personally profited by the unlawful act, there was no graft.

In a monograph on corruption in American politics and life, Professor Robert C. Brooks of the University of Cincinnati, gives the following definition: "The intentional misperformance or neglect of a recognized duty or unwarranted exercise of power, with the motive of gaining some advantage more directly personal."

The Century Dictionary says that graft is a gift or gratuity bestowed for the purpose of influencing the action or conduct of the receiver; especially money or any valuable consideration given or promised for the betrayal of a trust or the corrupt performance of an allotted duty, as to a fiduciary agent, a judge, a legislator or other public officer, a witness, a voter, etc.

The main shortcoming of all those definitions is their failure to assign a plausible motive to corruption and to show the connection between such a motive and the guilty or anti-social act itself.

A few years ago, one of the Hearst publications asked several hundred high school students for the same definition and, although more than five hundred answers were received, not a single one could be said to equal in precision the two definitions quoted above.

Graft is the result of a mental attitude in the individual towards the social world. Given society and the individual, it does not take the latter much cogitation to ascertain to what extent the influences of society promote or decrease his chances of survival. His attitude towards those social influences which he deems contrary to his will and wishes can be twofold, he can fight or stand in with them.

For various reasons he may shun the first course. The power of the hostile social institutions may seem to him too vast for the forces which he could bring to bear against them either alone or in conjunction with others in voluntary groups. Also he may doubt the possibility of creating such a group.

In both cases there is only one alternative left, he must stand in with the disapproved condition. To "stand in" means not only to become part and parcel

of the thing he disapproves of: To stand in means to act on similar lines, to mold his mentality according to the compulsory inhibitions emanating from that source, in a word, to imitate them whenever an occasion to do so presents itself.

For that reason graft is localized among those elements of the social complex who accept unreservedly the principles and the precepts of the existing economic order. The industrial proletariat, neither as a whole, nor any member thereof, has ever been accused of graft, not because they have no access to any material basis or starting point for such an attitude but because they are in opposition to the system. The reflex action of the influence of society upon them is a determination to fight that particular type of society and a consciousness that the means and the methods to make such a fight a success are at hand.

Graft is an imitation on a smaller scale of the fundamental dynamics of our social system by those who believe in that system and it owes its existence to the unavoidable relation between belief and imitation. Social causes are of two kinds, the logical and the non-logical. Logical causes operate whenever an individual, starting from his disapproval of an existing institution, prefers an innovation to existing conditions because he thinks it will be more useful to him than the status quo. The nonlogical cause results from a tactical attitude which spurs him on to seek his own safety in an attitude of temporization with adverse conditions. The non-logical admission of an adverse condition is a belief in contra-distinction to knowledge. The thing which is imitated is always the embodiment of a certain amount of belief and desire.

The central fact of American society is the institution of private property, in its application to the motor-driven and machinized tools of production as rigorously and strictly as it was once applied to the individual tools from whose nature and form the institution of private property itself draws its origin.

In fact, there is nothing to justify such a survival. Every material condition of industrial production is an argument against it.

The dividends of the capitalist are neither the reward of his thrift, nor the wages of his abstinence, nor the salary of his superintendence. They are a ransom imposed upon society with the consent of society itself or at least the ruling majority thereof. Those who are supposed to pay the ransom may refuse or they may stand in.

To stand in is a tenet of the poker morality. It means to imitate what you cannot prevent. It leads to this result which is the quintessence of graft, that every share of material power, whatever its origin, in the possession of a private individual, becomes the foundation by imitation of a system of extortion which is only limited by the material scope of the starting point.

To that mental process all forms of graft can be traced and reciprocally around every form of authority there arises an illicit collection of a tribute, an imitation of the art of getting something for nothing.

The vested interests begin generally by imitating themselves. If, from the vantage point of their status as employers, they are allowed to appropriate the surplus-value created by labor in production, why stop there, why not collect labor's wages themselves or force labor to return its wages to the employer by compelling labor to purchase from its employer all the commodities necessary to life. There are thousands of instances of the realization of that program on a partial scale but there are also instances of the complete materialization of such a scheme in the communities built up by the employers themselves around their works. The most propitious conditions for such a procedure arise in the extractive industries where towns are improvised upon a site owned by the company. Such towns are generally called "one-man" towns. The employing concern owns the townsite, the store, the school, the saloon, the church and sometimes the house of prostitution. It is customary for the workers in such towns to complain that every time they earn a dollar in wages, the company manages to get ninety-nine cents back out of it. Local self-government, that greatest achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race, is a dead letter in such communities and the right to strike completely vanishes when an employer, acting in his capacity of landlord, can forthwith expel the striker from his residence and prosecute him as a trespasser for loitering in the street with his furniture and his family, after he has been dispossessed, the case to be tried before a company owned judge.

The rights which the law grants to the head of a family become the starting point of parental graft. Numerous families are generally an indication of parental parasitism. In the textile industry, wherever child labor prevails, the father does not work himself but prefers to live off his offspring. The fact that his children are human beings is overlooked just as much as the obligations which his fatherhood imposes upon him. During the discussion of the child labor law, Congressman Keating received a letter from the father of a large family warning him not to vote for the law because that particular parent had a "force of six just coming of age." Had the man asked for tariff protection for a litter of pigs, he could not have worded his letter differently.

Every public servant to whom devolves a certain amount of initiative, in the course of the performance of the duties of his office, uses the latitude given him as the starting point of an abuse of his functions for private gain and at the expense of the community at large.

Graft always starts in connection with the particular domain in which the grafter exercises his legitimate authority. The man who is appointed

by law to pass upon the validity of a bond gives undue preference to a bonding company in which he is interested. The man to whom has been delegated the purchase of a certain commodity, either accepts an illicit commission which the giver recoups a dozen times by substituting a lower value which the bribe-taker deliberately overlooks, or becomes himself a manufacturer of that commodity.

The police sells the right to violate the law. Under the pressure of the middle class and the female half of the electorate, the U. S. has gone much too far in attempting to suppress by police power things that are simply vicious, as distinguished from felonies or crimes. The policeman who has once crossed the line of bribery because he personally disapproves of the unjustified or unenforceable by-law that prohibits petty gambling, soon learns to extend to the whole fabric of the laws the particular attitude that he has assumed in the matter of gambling. To this mentality of the police is due the "stool pigeon system" in vogue in all large cities and under which a compromise is reached between the police and the criminal classes. When such a condition remains in existence, the police ceases to fulfill its repressive or preventive mission.

Officers of the prohibition enforcement squad are found to be in collusion with bootleggers large and small.

Robberies from railroad cars are mainly committed by railroad employees. The vast majority of all mail robberies are "inside jobs."

The men to whom society, under a system of representative government, has delegated the framing of the laws, for the city and the state, fail to legislate for the social weal and sell their power to the vested interests. The corruption of legislation is due just as much to the desire of the lawmaker to be bought as it is to the advantage of the capitalist in buying him.

While the juries are crowds in their decisions, their members remain individuals in their personal behavior. The mercenary juror is a product of imitation. He is one of the series of variegated moral by-products produced by the incidence of the law of imitation upon existing social conditions. Some individuals have no sooner been passed for jury duty that they offer their vote for sale. An option on a juror is a current expression in general use in and around all halls of justice and it is practically impossible to state from which side of the case the initiative for the subornation of the juror originated. Options on jurors are offered by jurors or their agents quite as frequently as they are solicited by the principals in a case.

What is true of the juror is, to a large extent, true of the voter. For every man who sells his vote outright, how many dyed in the wool partisans of the two leading parties are there who, while they would not vote for the other ticket under any con-

sideration, nevertheless fail to vote if they are not given a compensation for doing so?

Graft is not restricted to those who belong to the caste of government officials. The voluntary social worker invested with a modicum of restrictive authority is just as bad as the policeman. Church members placed on boards of censorship for moving pictures have had their decisions influenced by bribes paid by producers and exhibitors.

Labor leaders have sold their authority to call a strike to employers who needed just such an occurrence to get the best of a competitor.

Private business is as replete with graft as government business. Foremen to whom was delegated the right to hire men have been known to exact commissions equal to as much as one-third of the wages paid. Others who have the giving away of piece work have entered into regular partnerships with the favored workers. Some foremen have become, either directly or indirectly, hotel or boarding house keepers and, while every man placed under their orders was theoretically free to live and eat where he pleased, he did not remain very long on the payroll if he failed to live or board at the foreman's place, notwithstanding the fact that the same accommodations could be had cheaper elsewhere.

Apartment house janitors refuse admission to the tradesmen who fail to pay them.

Owners of automobiles simulate robberies or scrap their cars themselves in order to defraud the insurance companies.

Fire insurance companies admit that fully one-third of all the fires in the U. S. are of a criminal nature and the setting of fires, in order that insurance may be collected, has developed into a fine art.

Even vantage points which are merely emotional in their origin are made the starting point of a complete system of graft.

The respect shown to women, as a social custom, is taken advantage of in the commercialization of womanliness. In this connection it becomes necessary to mention the female bootlegger. She sells regularly in excess of the market price. She is usually a pretty girl with good clothes who knows how to flirt. She sticks around dance halls and first proceeds to get men a little goaded on her. When the sucker is hooked, the girl breaks the news. He gives his order and specifies the time for delivery. When it comes to the matter of the price, even if he knows the regular price, he hates to appear a piker and he falls.

Even the marriage relation is not exempt from graft. Some women enter the marriage relation with the purposes of applying for a divorce with alimony at the first available opportunity. Others receive cash rebates from milliners and dressmakers when their husbands pay their bills. Doctors and dentists will perform fake operations or do useless work with the understanding that a part of the price paid by the husband will be returned to the wife.

Certain men who, a few years ago, were raw immigrants themselves make haste to use their recently acquired knowledge of American conditions to defraud their own countrymen. Here we have the spread of the graft disease by contagion. It presents itself as a full-fledged institution known as padronism in the East and as Oriental contract system in the West. It is a system of ruthless exploitation of the most helpless foreigners at the critical period of their life in America and not only robs its victims mercilessly, but carefully prevents their assimilation with the surrounding community.

The instances quoted above and many others, which could be added to that already too long list, to the point of monotony, if an exhaustive treatment of the subject were attempted, force upon us the conclusion that graft soon becomes a mental habit. The man who believes in the power of bribery to have his way is supremely indifferent to any kind of legislation. The feeble resistance which marks the numerous invasions of personal liberty by legislative enactment is not due to the inner feeling of guilt or shame of those who fail to protest, it is due to their secret hope that the law will not be enforced because they can buy off the officer who has to enforce it. Anti-vice legislation not only creates in the providers an expectation that they can overrule it by corrupting the police, it creates a hope as well that the right to violate the law, once it has been sold to the highest bidder, will be transformed into a semi-official monopoly in their favor.

The denunciation of the grafter is never due to the offended moral feeling of the critic. In the last analysis, the latter is always the beneficiary of some material interest which is hurt by the particular graft which he denounces so indignantly. This is the reason why the industrial proletariat obstinately refuses to be stampeded into some reform movements of a temporary nature whose rallying cry is a fight against a certain particular grafter. All these bitter criticisms with their high sounding phrases and their appeals to high ideals, are only, in their ultimate meaning, internecine struggles between various capitalistic clans and their retainers, features of a competitive struggle, the burden of which is born by the producing class, whoever may be the personality who profits thereby.

Apologies for graft are not lacking. How often have we heard it repeated that corruption makes business good, that official protection to legally forbidden vice attracts labor power to a community, that corruption may be more than compensated by the high efficiency otherwise of those who indulge in it, that corruption is a protection against mob rule, that graft is part of an evolutionary process, the ends of which are supposed to be so benevolent as to more than atone for the existing evils attributable to it. All such statements bear the earmarks of being put forward by people who benefit by some form of graft themselves.

It remained for some American nativist to go unblushingly to the logical extreme of their premises and thus to erect graft into the motive power of social growth and progress. It happened this way: Some unassimilated foreigners maintained that graft was due to the individual reactions of the American individualist, while in Europe the same reactions operated socially and led to progress. To illustrate, if a European worker was victimized by a dishonest employment agent, he demanded a law suppressing the private offices; the American on the contrary figured on entering the employment business himself and on victimizing others in the same way as he had been plundered. Now the contention of the defenders of graft is that on account of the individual imitative reaction of the American the privilege of the few becomes diffused amongst the mass to such an extent that it becomes a common possession of every individual and hence a social prerogative.

Graft is socially harmful. It lowers the community morally and materially. But a remedy for graft must not be expected from any social system whose very existence is the corner-stone on which the edifice of graft has been reared.

The spasmodic outcries against graft which lead to the well known short-lived moral crusades are due to the more direct manner in which graft affects certain special interests in their competitive struggles with others. Also the amount at stake in a given form of graft may become so considerable as to excite the greed and cupidity of the man higher up, who tolerates and abets it, for his own selfish ends. Frequently he is thus driven to the conclusion that the indirect advantage which he derives from that particular species of graft is not at all commensurate with the amount involved and that he might just as well, without any injury to himself, cut out the graft in its present form, reduce the grafter to the status of a wageworker and pocket the profits himself.

We have an instance of such a procedure in the case of company doctors and employment agencies. Generally there was no service rendered to justify the money taken out of the pay envelope under the pretext of hospital fees or employment dues. The hospital accommodations provided were either ridiculously inadequate or entirely non-existent. In the case of the employment agent, there were plants where men applying for work at the gate and hired there had nevertheless to pay a fee to an agent residing sometimes as much as two hundred miles away. When such forms of graft begin to reach too large an amount, the employer transforms the contracting doctor into a company doctor paid by the year, while the hospital fund remains in the hands of the concern itself. In the case of the employment agent, his services are dispensed with and a company employment service is created. The fees do not change but they now go to the employer himself who uses part of them to pay the cheap clerk who

has taken the place of the agent and interviews the applicants.

The relation of the immigrant to graft is of particular interest at this juncture of our inquiry. It is an altogether unfortunate but true condition that the education of the immigrant in Americanism proceeds generally faster along the line of graft than along the line of political or social legislation. If anybody were disposed to doubt the truth of this statement, I would recommend a comparison of the rapidly acquired knowledge of credit-trimming by the Syrians and Armenians and their knowledge of the main principles of the American Constitution. The prospective immigrant hears about graft even before he reaches the U. S. A. His friends and relatives, over here, instruct him from their own stock of experience concerning the huge part it plays in all dealings with government offices and the first application recommended to him is generally the giving of a tip to an immigration or custom house officer at some critical moment in the course of the landing formalities. His first job is generally bought from some unscrupulous foreman who thinks he is entitled to such an extra-compensation for "his trouble in breaking in the greenhorn." All subordinate foremen and superintendents who are looking for side-money, prefer to deal with a recent immigrant because the fear of detection is not so great in their case as in that of the more Americanized older hands who occasionally are liable to show their disapproval of the practice by exposing it.

One interesting characteristic of graft is the lack of proportion between the money value of the favor allowed and the amount of the bribe. A soldier before a court-martial complained once that a few cigars donated to a non-commissioned officer could upset the whole elaborate structure of military discipline. There are cases on record where the amount of the bribe was less than one per cent of the profits derived from the tolerated violation of the law. The cause of such a state of affairs results largely from the fact that the bribe-giver generally knows of the illegal nature of the deal and finds himself in a position identical to that of a receiver of stolen goods. The corruptionist who thinks he has been cheated in the execution of the agreement and complains, thereby exposing the whole fraudulent deal, sins against one of the tenets of the poker morality and generally finds himself ostracized by public opinion to a larger extent than the bribetaker who has thus been exposed.

There is no cure for graft within the present economic system. Repeated exhortations by professional moralists telling people to be good, under the economic conditions of the present, are themselves a form of social parasitism followed for a living by people whose study of the question they discuss must have convinced them of its dependence upon the foundations of the economic system.

The line of demarcation between tips and com-

mercial bribery is not very distinct. The practice has grown to such an extent that it threatens American business life with a kind of moral dry-rot. But the Federal Trade Commission cannot act to stop commercial bribery, as an unfair method of competition, because a decision of a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals declared that bribery must be prosecuted as a crime and not as a method of competition. The Federal Trade Commission therefore cannot stop commercial bribery. In the letter in which the Federal Trade Commissioner reported the facts to Congress, it reminded the latter body of a report made nearly two years before and urging the same kind of legislation.

There is only one cure for graft and it consists in a thorough overhauling of the social system. The study of graft, as a reflex by imitation of present day conditions, teaches the possibility of such a course. Invention, in the sociology of imitation, is a counter-imitation brought about by the collision of two contradictory forms of imitation. When two imitations run counter to each other, they produce an invention which supplants them both by producing a more progressive and efficient form. Several forms of graft running at cross-purposes will ultimately cause the imitators to discontinue their fruitless undertakings in favor of a more rational and legitimate method. Thus we are justified in the hope that social progress can and will be ultimately brought about by the contradictory manifestations of graft running into excess. Such programs will most probably be in the form of a very radical overturn of existing conditions but it will justify the application to the body social of that possibility of ridding the physical body of any and every form of parasitic disease, which the great Pasteur promised to the world as the synthesis of his scientific labors.

The prevalence of graft in the U. S., as a logical result of present economic conditions, has contributed one more factor to the body of national traits commonly referred to as Americanisms. The American reformer lacks courage, he likes to do things by indirection, using pseudo-legal considerations *a posteriori*, as a kind of patent political salve to assuage the national conscience smarting under the pangs of latent reaction.

Instances of this tendency are the promulgation of war prohibition after the Armistice, the suppression of the right to strike by the use of special war legislation in time of peace and the use of the so-called Espionage Act not to apprehend enemy spies but to silence the expression of all forms of radical opinion.

An inefficient and incapable police, utterly unable to repress or to prevent crime, seems exceedingly proficient in arresting violators of sumptuary laws after being instrumental in the commission and the preparations of the violations themselves.

Some day the American people will awake to the danger of such a procedure. In a country where

so many moral inhibitions are on the statute books, it is bound to become obvious to the dullest minds that it is better that violators of the law should go unpunished, especially when such laws have no bearing upon the social weal, than to allow the police to appear as prosecuting witnesses in cases where the police itself, in order to obtain a conviction, has

been compelled to take such an active part in the lawbreaking at bar, that without such an initiative no guilty act would have been committed. The most elementary notion of the security of the citizen will, in a not very distant future, necessitate the introduction of such a principle into the jurisprudence of the country.



Correspondence Course in Organization Work

THE only way in which the workers can hope to fight the capitalists successfully on the industrial field is by organization. The capitalists are able to control the destinies of the nation owing to their superior form of organization and their efficiency in co-ordinating industrial processes. Efficiency is the keynote of their present success.

The workers will not be able to build up their economic power until they go at it in a systematic manner. The backbone of the Industrial Workers of the World is the delegate system. The better informed, and more active, and more efficient delegates that we have, the stronger will be the organization as a whole.

The Work People's College of Duluth, Minn., is preparing a correspondence course for the instruction of delegates, branch secretaries, General Organization Committee members and the active membership in general. This course will fill a long-felt want. The first few lessons are now off the press and are ready to be sent out in the field to all those who feel that it will help them with their work—and their number should be a legion.

The course sets forth, first of all, a few practical principles with which every delegate ought to be acquainted; this is followed by detailed instructions

to delegates and other officials in the I. W. W., covering every phase of their work. The last few lessons will be devoted to briefly outlining the principles of double-entry bookkeeping, with which all fellow workers ought to be acquainted when assuming the duties of either branch or industrial union secretaries.

The lessons are printed in large type on a good quality of book paper, and are of a size which makes it handy to be carried around by the fellow workers no matter where they might be. The reverse side of every page has been left blank and can be used in making notes and suggestions.

After each lesson is appended a number of questions. All those who take the course are urged to answer these questions in writing and to send in the answers to the address given.

The course will consist of about one dozen lessons altogether; one lesson will be issued each week. Owing to an unfortunate combination of circumstances it was not possible to send out in the field the first lesson as early as had been intended.

The cost of the entire course is only \$5.00. Send all money orders and communications to Educational Bureau, Department B, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.



The Electronic Reactions of Abrams

By "OBSERVER"

THE class conscious worker holds as one of the main tenets of his faith the belief that the root of all evil is the exploitation of man by man; he believes that there is only one remedy for the manifold ills from which we suffer, namely—the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of industrial democracy.

Humanity today is sick with a dread sickness, and it is weary unto death. Apothecary's pills and patent medicines will not suffice to put the bloom of health back into the pallid cheeks of man. More potent and drastic measures will have to be employed.

Therefore, we do not believe in reform; we hold no faith in patching up an outward and a crumbling frame; we toss aside with scornful mien the nice little pellets and condiments with which many well-meaning people want to heal the soul-sick and pain-racked hulk of suffering humanity. Nothing short of an operation for the complete removal of the putrescent tumor of wage slavery will save the day.

The workers, as a class, are not interested in the various new methods that are promulgated for the upbuilding of health. Of course, it is the personal duty of all of us to ourselves and to our nearest of kin to do whatever lies in our power to conserve and improve our health, but that alone will not solve the social problem. Another great war, caused by international capitalism, might come along to snuff out the lives of millions of workers—alike the diseased and the healthy, the old and the young—and to leave in its path a trail of misery, sickness and pestilence that would kill countless millions more in years to come.

The reason why we are interested in the discovery of the Electronic Reactions of Abrams is not merely because a new method of healing the sick seems to have been found, but because of its epoch-making character and far-reaching implications.

Landmarks of Progress

I have made a careful investigation of the new discovery. I have seen reputable physicians diagnose disease by testing blood according to the Abrams method. So far I have not read or heard anything which in my opinion invalidates the claims of Dr. Abrams, notwithstanding the volume of abuse and misrepresentation printed by those inimical to all new ideas, or those actuated by material interests.

There can be no doubt that in the future the discovery of Dr. Abrams, after it is definitely substantiated in the years to come, will be looked upon as the greatest single achievement in medicine since Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood. But not only this: It will unquestionably be admitted

to be one of the few real landmarks of progress in the march of humanity from antiquity down to the present time. When we consider human history in its entirety we will have to admit that there have been a few great discoveries in the fields of science and invention which have had the effect of causing far-reaching changes in the whole subsequent course of human events. Such, for instance, have been the discoveries of the use of fire, steam and electricity, and the invention of the alphabet, gunpowder and the printing press. To these must be added Newton's law of gravitation and Lester's discovery of antisepsis. When the full importance of the Abrams discoveries in medicine will have dawned upon future generations he will no doubt be classified with the great benefactors of the human race.

What Is the Era?

The Electronic Reactions of Abrams could be defined, in short, as offering a positive cure for all diseases, no matter how malignant and incurable they might have been up to the present time. At one sweep of the hand, so to speak, it seems to have solved the problem with which the human race has occupied itself ever since the dawn of history. It is self-evident that the far-reaching consequences of such a discovery cannot be over-estimated.

It will be impossible to describe the ERA—abbreviation of the Electronic Reactions of Abrams—without a brief explanation of the theory back of it, even though this makes it necessary for us to be somewhat technical.

The ERA is a result of the application of the latest researches in physics to the science of medicine. It took Dr. Abrams twenty-five years of investigation and experimentation to finally evolve this method of curing the sick.

Here is the theory in a nutshell: All matter is made up of molecules. Molecules are an aggregation of atoms, and atoms consist of electrons. By way of an illustration, a molecule contains two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen. The molecules of the more organic substances, such as living tissue, have a highly complex structure consisting of many atoms of many different elements. Every atom is a solar system in itself, containing many thousands of electrons, which are minute particles of negative and positive electricity.

The smallest speck of dust, barely visible to the human eye, is made up of many millions of atoms, and each atom in its turn contains within itself many tens of thousands of electrons. This will give us an idea of the inconceivably complicated structure of matter in general.

The electrons are in perpetual motion. The speed at which they move determines the nature of the various elements and substances, and is known as the "vibratory rate" of that substance. For instance, the electrons of gold move at one rate and those of lead move at another rate. It is this rate of speed which determines what the substance is. Should it either decrease or become accelerated, then the substance itself will lose its identity and become something else.

Now, what Dr. Abrams did was to apply this theory to medicine. He found that every disease has its specific vibratory rate. It, therefore, became obvious that after this vibratory rate had been determined, if it could be slowed down or speeded up, that would result in the destruction of that particular disease. Under "disease" is understood, of course, the diseased tissue, the bacilli, as well as the physical condition of the blood,—all of which go to make up the diseased condition of the body.

After many years of experimenting, Dr. Abrams eventually evolved a method of measuring the vibratory rate of practically every known disease. This he does by the use of a rheostat. For instance, tuberculosis has a vibratory rate of forty-two; cancer of fifty, and so on down the line. A practically infallible method of correctly diagnosing disease was thus found.

The next step was to find out how to cure the disease after its vibratory rate had been determined. After countless experiments, he struck upon the idea of sending to the affected parts of the body electrical currents of the same electronic vibratory rate as is possessed by the disease itself. In doing this he acted on the theory, long current in medicine, that like destroys like—*similia similibus curantur*. The results were highly gratifying.

The diagnosis itself is very simple. All that is needed are a few drops of blood and a piece of white blotting paper. This is then connected up, by a series of electrical instruments, with the body of a "subject," in such a way that the electronic reactions of the various diseases can be easily measured. The whole diagnosis does not, as a rule, take more than fifteen minutes.

The Curing of Disease

One of the things which has puzzled medicine, and science in general, for thousands of years, has been the question of the origin of disease. In the entire animal kingdom human beings are the only animals who get sick. Sickness is unknown among any animals which have not become domesticated. Of course, the wolf, lion, rabbit, fox, and other animals, can languish to death owing to accident or lack of food, but they do not become afflicted with any of the countless diseases and pestilences which torture human beings. Only those animals which have become domesticated are liable to contract disease; this made it logical to suppose that it

has been transmitted to them from the human family.

The indications are that this puzzle has at last been satisfactorily solved by Dr. Abrams. He seems to have conclusively demonstrated that there is one disease which is at the root of practically every other disease. In the great majority of cases it is transmitted from parents to their children, and forms the soil upon which all other diseases grow. Its name is hereditary syphilis.

The particular importance of this discovery is this: Kill the disease mentioned above, and you have killed every other disease. Tuberculosis, cancer, nervous debility, chronic disorders of the digestive system, dementia, anemia, and practically every other disease that we can name, are rooted in hereditary syphilis, and cannot exist without it.

The Ravages of Disease

During the years 1918 and 1919 Spanish influenza killed about twenty-five millions of people all over the world. The toll exacted by this one pestilence was much greater than the total number of men killed on the field of battle during the World War. Tuberculosis kills millions upon millions of workers every year. Up to now there has been no satisfactory cure found for either of these two diseases. We can, therefore, appreciate the tremendous importance of the Abrams discovery when we realize that a means for the defeat of these dreadful scourges of the human race has been found.

The Medical Profession

Now we come to the wider significance of the Abrams discovery. When it was announced to the world about two years ago, practically the whole medical profession combined in ridiculing and in belittling it. It would seem to an outsider that the medical doctors should have been glad that finally a satisfactory means had been found for curing disease, but such was not the case. In the course of time, however, so much evidence was adduced for the effectiveness of the new discovery that now many of the orthodox medical practitioners are bound to admit that they cannot contradict the claims of Dr. Abrams and his thousands of followers. In the opposition of the medical profession we can see in operation the theory of economic determinism. The great bulk of the doctors who rely upon drugs and surgery realize that if a definite method for actually curing people has been found, many of them will eventually find themselves out of jobs. Hence the bitter opposition.

It would be folly to think that this new discovery will have any immediate or far-reaching effect on the health of the worker. Just as long as the present system of exploitation of one class by another remains in force, just so long will the workers, as a class, be deprived of the benefits of new inventions. It is to the interest of the capitalist class to suppress the truth, no matter where it might be found,

whether it be in the field of economics, or medicine, or anywhere else. Years will pass by and the members of the working class will continue to suffer and to die by the countless millions every year from disease which can easily be cured, just because it is not in the interest of the powers that be to will it otherwise.

During the last couple of years, many thousands have been cured of their ailments by the Abrams method, among them being many who had been

given up as hopeless by doctors of the old school. But to reap the full benefits of this discovery, something more has to be done. In order to finally come into its own the human race will have to wipe off the face of the earth that blot which has disfigured it for countless ages—the exploitation of man by man. Not until capitalism will have been finally abolished through the organization of labor will humanity as a whole be able to reap the full benefits of new discoveries in whatever field.



Modern Romance

By JENNIE WILSON

HE

You are more fair than crescent moon
High in the sky on summer night!
With love for you my senses swoon—
Say, can you wash my soiled shirts white?

Your lips are roses, eyes are stars;
Your supple sweetness I adore;
Your hair holds me like iron bars—
But have you learned to scrub a floor?

Your skin is soft, you are so fair,
Your life I fain would happy make!
I'll wed you, dear, I do declare—
And trust that you can fry a steak!

SHE

That you are handsome, Jack, I know,
And that your time is wisely spent,
You love me—you have told me so—
How much will you pay for the rent?

I love the way you lift your feet,
Your smile will put all blues to rout;
My life with you will be quite sweet—
I'll want to put our washing out!

You never drink, nor smoke, nor chew,
A willing slave you work all day,
I'm satisfied to marry you—
If you will give me all your pay!

FINALE

HE

The sex ain't what it used to be
These females go from bad to worse!

SHE

What these men want is beating me—
But they are sure meal checks to us!

Editorial

THOSE WAGE INCREASES

“VOLUNTARY” wage increases affecting some classes of workers in the packing, steel, textile and building industries have been granted by the employers during the month of April. They are heralded by the capitalist press as a sign of the return of normal conditions in production, and of the establishment of “perennial prosperity”; also, as proof conclusive of the inherent goodness of heart of the big corporations, accused by wicked labor agitators and other undesirable citizens of having never even possessed a heart or a soul.

What are the facts? Perhaps this patent manifestation of disinterested concern by the employers for the welfare of their employees is not as devoid of self-interest as it might seem to be. We vaguely recollect having heard somewhere or other an admonition to beware of Greeks bearing gifts.

The steel mills have been paying for unskilled help thirty-six cents an hour, eleven or twelve hours per day, seven days a week. Naturally, with the coming of more work in other industries, the labor turnover became very great. Also, sporadic strikes broke out all over the country. The Bethlehem Steel Company went even to the length of importing Mexican strike-breakers, many of whom, upon learning of the state of affairs, refused to become enslaved to the company. The few paltry cents added to the daily wage of some of these workers is but an attempt by the steel trust to decrease labor turnover and to stem the rising tide of sentiment for industrial unionism.

The same holds true in the packing and the textile industries. The packing house and the woolen, cotton and silk mill workers, together with the slaves in the steel mills, have the unenviable reputation of

constituting the most exploited portion of the working class in America. The packing house and textile mill barons are bending every effort to run their plants at capacity production: the greater the production, the greater the profits. To allay discontent and to induce the workers to “stick,” some of them are given an increase in wages of a few cents a day.

The working class will not sell its birth-right for a mess of pottage.

THE CALIFORNIA CONVICTIONS

THE sentencing of scores of members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Sacramento and Los Angeles to long prison terms in the penitentiary for mere membership in a labor union constitutes the most flagrant violation of justice and fair play ever perpetrated in the United States.

Up till now, whenever the powers that be have decided “to send over” somebody especially active in the cause of labor, they have generally resorted to frame-ups; witness the Mooney and the Sacco and Vanzetti cases. But frame-ups are expensive and cumbersome affairs, and, sooner or later—the truth will out. Besides, to connect a worker with a crime of a violent character, it is essential for the crime actually to have been committed by somebody. Crimes cannot conveniently be manufactured to order; they are not always of a nature easily applicable to labor union men; it is hard to determine their frequency and place of occurrence. In a word, frame-ups are hard to contrive and to manage; they are antiquated and inefficient.

The convictions of the I. W. W.’s in California mark a new departure in the persecution of labor. No more empty pre-

tenses at fairness, no more dilly-dallying with public sentiment, no more attempts to placate "the inherent sense of justice" of the American people! Do you believe in the organization of labor in industry? Yes? All right, two to twenty-eight years in the penitentiary! Next case!

THE HERRIN AND FOSTER TRIALS

IT was with a feeling of great relief that we read about the second acquittal of the Herrin miners on the charge of murder, and of the disagreement of the jury in the trial of Wm. Z. Foster. Evidently the spirit of vicious persecution running wild in California has been checked, at least for the time being, in the middle western states of Illinois and Michigan. Let us hope that the criminal syndicalism law in Michigan has been dealt a blow from which it will never recover. The instructions to the jury by Judge White, presiding over the Foster trial, should be carefully studied by all who have the interests of labor at heart. Nothing short of the actual commission of acts of violence was to be considered by the jury as a crime in the eyes of the law. What a contrast between California and Michigan!

Does it not seem reasonable to infer that the amount of solidarity and organization of labor in these several states has had something to do with the outcome of the trials?

THAT LABOR PARTY

THE amiable and vigilant labor politicians are again on the trail of the elusive labor party "for independent political action." This labor party has led the "revolutionary" advocates of political action a merry chase for lo! these many years, yet no sooner caught than it takes flight again.

The Trade Union Educational League now takes the lead, by asking every local

trade union in the United States whether or not it wants an independent labor party. Do you want an independent party or don't you?—out with it! If you do, we will give it to you and have it over with. We've got everything set to lead you into the fray—generals an' everythin'—all that we need now is the following. Let's go!

The April Liberator opines editorially that "if the workers form a labor party, no matter how timid its first utterances may be, the first recognition of the class struggle will have occurred in this country." Now, really, can that be possible? We wonder where this editor has been hiding himself all these years. How about Ludlow, Homestead, the Pullman strike, Everett, Centralia, West Virginia, Herrin, the recent strikes of the miners and shopmen? No class struggle there, or recognition of it—of course not! The recognition will put in its appearance on some nice sunshiny afternoon at a ballot box.

We would advise our political action friends to read Prof. John R. Commons' "History of Labour in the United States." Talk about your labor parties! Why, we have had oodles and oodles of them—ever since 1828.. And they have always been barren of results, and have always had the one effect of diverting the energies of the workers from the struggle with the master class at the point of production.

MOVING PICTURES, THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE

RUSSIA is reputed to be waging war against "religion, the opium of the people." The Chicago Tribune waxes eloquently indignant because somebody has said that in this country sport is the opium of the people. In our opinion the real opium of the American people are the moving pictures.

The moving pictures—here is the real menace to the mental alertness and independence of thought of the workers. To-

gether with the press, the films are used by the capitalist class to keep the working class down in mental and spiritual slavery. The silly, disgustingly sentimental and cunningly vicious stuff that is being fed every day from the silver screen to teeming multitudes over the length and breadth of the land, is an insidious poison that is working havoc with the minds of the people. It is an insult to the collective intelligence of all sane men and women.

The moving pictures are but another instance of an instrument having great potential value for good, being misused. Or, to be more accurate, being used by one class to the end of keeping another class in economic subjection. As long as the workers can be kept asleep by being doped with a lot of silly nonsense, so long will the master class feel itself safe in the saddle.

Notice: Members and Secretaries

THE General Executive Board has authorized the publication of a number of leaflets, which will be printed in many languages. Part will be for distribution in various industries, while some are of a general character.

The list includes mining, oil, textiles, marine transport, railways, women workers, general organization, etc.

The Organization is in need of copy and information direct from the job, containing ideas and industrial knowledge, as well as information about job conditions, wages, grievances and organization demands. We not only need this information for leaflets, but also for booklets. We can always find use for manuscripts and for job and industrial information. Let every member aid us in this matter. Send in manuscripts or information. Do not hesitate just because you feel that you are not a first-class writer and can not prepare an article for the printer. The Organization wants facts and information which are known only to the members who have made a study of conditions by being on the job in a particular industry.

Send all copy in English, if possible, as we desire

to make all literature uniform and will try to have future pamphlets and leaflets translated from English into other languages. If you cannot write English, and wish to submit copy in another language, we will give it every consideration possible.

Branch secretaries are requested to take this up at business meetings. The writers in the Organization are requested to submit manuscripts on any and all subjects for leaflets and booklets. We are preparing a file of manuscripts covering all general subjects and all industries. Help us complete it.

We are not at present in position to flood the country immediately with all kinds of literature, but often when we are in position to put out literature for a certain industry, we find ourselves short of figures and facts as to actual conditions; consequently, much valuable time is lost securing missing information. We can always use matter for the papers, and some of the manuscripts sent in response to this call can be used at once by the I. W. W. press.

Send all manuscripts and communications to this address: Education, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

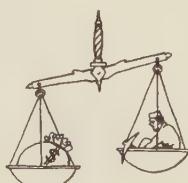




Photo by Nat. L. Hardy.

PICKING COTTON DOWN SOUTH

Child Slavery

DOWN in the depths of the factory's gloom
They gather at early dawn,
Where the ceaseless whirl of spindle and loom
Goes on and on and on;
And the god of gold in the tainted air,
An invisible Moloch stands,
As he watches the fabrics woven there
By the toil of childish hands.

BACKWARD and forward, over and up,
Steadily still they go,
But they hold to the lips a bitter cup,
Whose dregs are the dregs of woe;
For the hopes of youth grow faint and die,
Held fast in these iron bands,
And the cold, hard world has never a sigh
For the patient, childish hands.

AH ye, whose darlings, in flowery ways,
Know naught of grim despair,
Think of the heated summer days,
And your children working there,
Where never a cooling zephyr comes
Through the factory's stifling breath,
Where the looms weave on and the spindle hums
In a treadmill 'round to death.

AND onward, onward, upward and back,
In the close and crowded rooms,
In a dizzy race on an endless track,
Go spindles and shafts and looms;
Till the angel of death, with fateful glass,
Shakes out the dusky sands,
As the merciful, longed-for shadows pass
Over worn-out childish hands. —W. A. B.



The Bootlegger's Lament

A Liquor Lyric composed in memory of the death of John Barleycorn.

A is for Alcohol, against the law to use.
 B is for Bootlegger, Brandy, Beer and Booze.
 C is for Cider sweet, Claret and Champagne.
 D is for Dry Agent, who'll help you to refrain.
 E is for Eggnog, and Enforcement too, you'll note.
 F is for Firewater and Flasks, so many tote.
 G is for Grape Juice, it also stands for Gin.
 H is for Hooch and Hip Pockets where it's in.
 I is for Income Tax on every bootleg sale (?).
 J is for Jackass, Jamaica, Jug and Jail.
 K is for Kettle and contents with a kick.
 L is for Liquor—and a lawyer mighty quick.
 M is for Moonshine and Mash and Mountain Dew.
 N is for New Year's Eve and Nips of Nothing, too.
 O is for Opener, its use is soon to stop.
 P is for Prohibition and Pint and Port or Pop.
 Q is for Quart, of course, but seldom Quality.
 R is for Rye and Rum, as Rotten as can be.
 S is for Stills and Soda, Spirits, Scotch and Sherry.
 T is for Tangelfoot and also Tom and Jerry.
 U is for Uncle Sam, he's bound to learn the truth.
 V is for Volstead, for Vodka and Vermuth.
 W is for Whisky and Wine and Water, too.
 X is for Extracts and Excuses sold for brew.
 Y is for Yeast; of course, it's used to raise the dough.
 Z is for Zero Hour, when the Wright Act ends the show!

War's Wrinkles

Woodrow Wilson, watchfully waiting, waxed warmer weekly while world war waged without. Woodrow wrathfully wrote: We were wickedly waylaid without warning, wherefore War! We wondered why whimsical Woodrow wanted workers wallop whiskered William.

Wandering wayfarers wending with waddling wagons. Whoa, winsome wights, wavering witches! Wantonly we whisked wallets while wizened, wheedling women whimpered. Why will wolves whine when war's whirl wrecks wealth wholesale?

We won war, whittled worrisome William's wigwam (willingly worked Washington's will.) What wounds? Woe? What withering, wiggling wart warbled weakly? We will willingly wander wherever, whenever wishy-washy wiseacres wish. We worship war's whirligig! Wittily wrangling, we wended west.

Wretched widows wistfully weeping, welkin woke with wan waifs' wailing. Who will winnow withering wheat? Workshops' whistles wheeze while wealthy wirepullers wink wittingly. Who will whir wheel, wield wrenches? When will weary workers warn world's wastrels: We won't work while war wastes wealth without?



SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

Please find enclosed dollars in payment for years' subscription to "The Industrial Pioneer," starting with the issue.

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Please find enclosed dollars for which send me copies of the issue of "The Industrial Pioneer." This is a single permanent order

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Special Offer

Reduced Rates on All I. W. W. Publications for Three Months

In order to obtain the greatest circulation possible, for the papers and magazines published by our organization, we have decided to give our readers an opportunity, never before available.

Club rates for all our publications have been arranged, and the club arrangements under which the Industrial Pioneer may be obtained are shown below.

These arrangements will be in force for three months, and any one wishing to obtain our publications at reduced rates, can do no better than take advantage of this opportunity.

If the club arrangements shown below, do not appeal, any of our publications, the rates of which are the same, may be substituted at the pleasure of our readers.

Club No. 1	Regular rate	Club No. 7	Regular rate
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year	INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY ..	2 " "	IL PROLETARIO (Italian)	2 " "
INDUSTRIAL WORKER	4 " "	INDUSTRIAL WORKER	4 " "
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Total	\$8	Total	\$8
Club rate	\$6 " "	Club rate	\$6 per year
Club No. 2	Regular rate	Club No. 8	Regular rate
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year	INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year
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IL PROLETARIO (Italian)	2 " "	SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish)	1 " "
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Total	\$6	Total	\$7
Club rate	\$4.50 per yr.	Club rate	\$5.25 per yr.
Club No. 3	Regular price	Club No. 9	Regular rate
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year	INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year
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Total	\$6	Total	\$5.75
Club rate	\$4.50 per yr.	Club rate	\$4.35
Club No. 4	Regular rate	Club No. 10	Regular rate
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year	INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year
SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish)	1 " "	JEDNA VELKA UNIE	1 " "
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY ..	2 " "	INDUSTRIAL WORKER	4 " "
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Total	\$5	Total	\$7
Club rate	\$3.75 per yr.	Club rate	\$2.25 per yr.
Club No. 5	Regular rate	Club No. 11	Regular rate
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year	INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY ..	2 " "	MUNCITORUL (Roumanian) ..	1 " "
GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Rus'n) ..	\$2.50 per yr.	INDUSTRIAL WORKER	4 " "
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Total	\$6.50	Total	\$7
Club rate	\$5 per year	Club rate	\$2.25 per yr.
Club No. 6	Regular rate		
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER	\$2 per year		
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY ..	2 " "		
RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian)	2 " "		
<hr/>			
Total	\$6		
Club rate	\$4.50 per yr.		

All of these papers and magazines, with the exception of the Industrial Worker, are published at I. W. W. headquarters, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. The Industrial Worker is published in Seattle, Wash., Box 1857. Money orders for any of these club rates may be sent to whichever address is most convenient.

JUNE 1923

20 CENTS

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



On the San Pedro Slave Market "R. U. R."
UNDER THE IRON HEEL - By Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew

Boycott All California-Made Goods!

THE state of California has put itself outside the pale of civilization.

It has taken from workingmen the right to organize.

It has suppressed free speech and free assemblage.

It persecutes men for reading in public the Constitution of the United States.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California wants to reduce the working class to a condition worse than chattel slavery.

It sends men to prison for believing in and advocating industrial unionism.

It has reverted to barbarism and the dark days of the Spanish inquisition.

Its criminal syndicalism law is an outrage and an insult to the working class of the whole world.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California has sentenced over fifty workingmen from one to twenty-eight years in prison for being members of a labor union — the Industrial Workers of the World.

These men are now rotting in Folsom and San Quentin penitentiaries for the "crime" of trying to improve the miserable living conditions of their class; for the "crime" of having the courage of their convictions.

Scores of others are now on trial, or out on bail, awaiting sentence.

The crimes being committed by the state of California cry out to high heaven.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California keeps in prison for life men who are admitted by the whole world to be innocent — Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr.

The city of San Pedro has arrested and herded into stockades like cattle over six hundred peaceful striking marine workers and sympathizers.

The state of California is paying ten dollars a day to three professional witnesses, Dymond, Coutts, and Townsend, moral and sexual perverts, who have confessed to having committed so many crimes that they ought to be put behind prison bars for the balance of their lives.

The corrupt and vicious powers that rule and control California have caused the arrest of Upton Sinclair, internationally known writer and idealist, for upholding the United States Constitution.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

Demand the liberation of all workingmen and women incarcerated in California's dungeons!

Demand the repeal of the infamous criminal syndicalism law!

In the meantime—

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!